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No. 8.

[This number contains the series of five lectures on "Parsi History" delivered by Principal Shapurshah Hormasji Hodiwalla, M. A., Principal Bahauddin College, Junagadh, as a Government Research Scholar for the year 1925. The lectures were delivered at the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Benevolent Institute on the 27th and 29th April and the 1st, 2nd and 6th May 1925.]

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LECTURE I.

THE OLD PARSI SETTLEMENT OF CAMBAY.

The early history of our people in this country is a veritable *terra incognita* — a dark continent of which little or nothing is known, and of which there is neither map nor chart. In the vast expanse of nearly a thousand years which, according to the popular reckoning, intervene between the first landing of our ancestors at Sanjān and the seventeenth century of Christ, there is scarcely an event of cardinal importance, of which we have any positive knowledge, or of which the date is not subject to doubt and incertitude. The sum total of what the late Bahmanji Patell was able to bring together about the entire period, after years of strenuous labour and research, does not fill more than a dozen pages of his voluminous chronicle, and in the official history of the Gujarāt Parsis compiled for the 'Bombay Gazetteer,' the subject is dismissed more summarily still. And when Dr. Jivanji Mody undertook the ambitious task of crystallising in an Essay, "the results of his own studies," he entitled it 'A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis.' And sooth to say, the events with which we may be really said to be acquainted, are few indeed, so few that our chroniclers have eagerly caught at any allusion or reference, however slight or dark, indefinite or ambiguous, in literature or tradition, and striven to make historical capital out of it.

If, for instance, Mīrkhond says that Ibrāhim Ghaznavi invaded, in the eleventh century, a city inhabited by the descendants of a people whom Afrāsiāb had expelled from Khurāsān, and carried off as captives to his capital (Ghazni) a hundred thousand of the inhabitants, we are asked to believe that these persons must have been the forebears of the Parsis of Western India, although Afrāsiāb was not a Zoroastrian, and nobody knows when he flourished, although the first mention of the event (?) in history is found only in a compilation of the 15th century, without reference to any earlier authority, and although the name of the place is so uncertain that it has been located by Briggs in the Valley of the Indus and by Sir H. Elliot either in the Jūd Hills, i.e., the Salt Range in Dehrā Dūn near Rāwalpindi. If the

bigoted chauvinist Badāoni asserts, in the pride of his heart, that Sikandar Lody destroyed the *Bulkhānahā wa Kanisahā* of Mandlāer, we must wrest the latter word out of its meaning, interpret it as 'fire altars,' and convert it into a proof of the existence of Zoroastrians in Upper India in the middle of the 15th Century. If the author of the *Zafarnāma*, an absurdly exaggerated and bombastic panegyric of Timūr, speaks of the majority of the inhabitants of Kithal, Jhind and Tughlaqpūr as 'Gabrs' and winds up his description of the siege of Mīrat with a rhetorical flourish about Safi the Gabr having "died in the fire which he worshipped," we must hold it as a convincing proof of the prevalence of Fire Worship in the Panjāb at the end of the 14th century, and believe that these 'Gabrs' were the last surviving remnants of a great wave of Zoroastrian emigration which had rushed into India through Afghānistān after the extinction of the Sāssānian Empire.¹

I propose to invite your attention to two imperfectly understood allusions or events, which are connected with the old Parsi settlement of Cambay and which have been the subjects of considerable speculation among us during the last forty years. The two incidents are the extermination of the Zoroastrian Colony in Khambāt by a Hindu named Kaliānrāi and the personal intervention of Siddharāja Jayasimha on behalf of some Muhammadans who complained to him of their place of worship having been destroyed and eighty of their religionists killed by the Parsi (?) residents of that town.

The earliest mention of the first incident is to be found in a "Historical Narrative of the city of Cambay compiled from Sanskrit and Persian books and oral tradition," by a Mr. Robertson in 1813 and published by the Government of Bombay in 1856. We read :

"The Parsis remained for many years in the vicinity of Sejam [Sanjān], where they had landed, and pursued a coasting trade ; but as they increased in numbers, they spread over the neighbouring districts, settling themselves in Verion [Variāv], Nowsaree, Broach, *Bombay*, (sic), and latterly in Kooarka Kshetir [Kumārīkā Kshetra], the ancient name of Cambay. The holy temple of Kooarka was surrounded by a small town, to which the Parsis

¹ Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, V., 559-564. Desāi, *Tārīkh-i Shāhān-i Irān*. II., 413-418, "Bombay Gazetteer" XIII. Thānā, Pt. i., d. 253, Note 3. Dosābhāi Frāmji, *History of the Parsis*, I., 38-9.

repaired at first in small numbers, but afterwards in greater, from the report of the profits of their brethren. They at length increased to so great a body that they outnumbered the original inhabitants, whom, desirous to have the trade entirely to themselves, they harassed, by breaking into their houses during the night, and robbing by force of all their property. A general panic took place, and the Hindoos, abandoning their homes, the Parsis remained the sole possessors of ancient Cambay. Among those who fled was a man of Dusalar [Dashā Lād] caste of Bunias. He took refuge in Surat, where he acquired great wealth in a short time, by trading in pearls. His wealth gave him consequence, and he had the address to get together a numerous band of Rajpoots and Koles, who in the night attacked the Parsis, putting many to the sword, and setting fire to their houses. The rest took to flight and not a Parsi was to be seen in Kooarka Kheshiter." D. Robertson, "Historical Narrative of the City of Cambay." Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government (No. XXVI, New Series), pp. 52-53.

The compiler of the "Bombay Gazetteer" writes :—

"Captain Robertson (1813) in his account of Cambay (Bombay Government Selections, New Series, XXVI) supplies some details of the Cambay Parsis as well as of the improvements in the city introduced by Kaliānrāi. *Captain Robertson gives no dates, and nothing further has been found regarding the period to which his narrative refers.* Some of the Parsis who since their arrival in India (636) had remained in the South of Gujarāt were attracted to the settlement (942-997) in *Kumārikā Kshetra* at the mouth of the Mahi. The first comers succeeding in trade, others followed and in time, the Parsi element became so strong that by their overbearing conduct, they forced the Hindus to leave the city. Among those who fled, was Kaliānrāi, a Dasā Lād Vāniā. He took refuge in Sūrat, where in a short time, by trading in pearls, he made a large fortune. Bringing a numerous band of Rajputs and Kolis, he, in the night, attacked the Parsis, put many to the sword, and set fire to their houses. The rest took to flight, and not a Parsi was to be seen in *Kumārikā Kshetra*. Kaliānrāi then formed the design of building a new city on the ruins of the Parsi town. By restoring order, building reservoirs, improving the defences and favouring trade, Kaliānrāi brought many wealthy men to settle in Cambay. So successful was his management, that he received the voluntary homage of eighty-four villages, the Cambay *Chorāsi*." Bombay Gazetteer, Rewākānthā, Nārukot, and Cambay, VI., p. 216 Note. (The Italics are mine).

This has been generally understood to mean that (1) there was a Parsi settlement in Cambay in the tenth century of the Christian era and (2) that the prosperity of the strangers made them so proud and overbearing that the Hindus whom they had driven out of the city determined upon vengeance and found a leader in a person called Kaliānrāi, on account of whose hostile machinations, "not a Parsi was to be seen in Kumārikā Kshetra."¹

There is nothing very improbable in the first of these statements, which is supported to *some extent* by Parsi tradition, i.e., by what is found in the *Qissa-i-Sanjān*, as regards the dispersion of the Zoroastrians who first settled in that town. We read there that about three hundred years after their landing in Sanjān, that is, about 134 years "after the departure of the sovereignty" from Yazdajard, the original inhabitants of the town dispersed in all directions, and the localities mentioned are Bānkāner,² Broach, Bariāv, Anklesar, Khambāit and Navsāri (Studies in Parsi History, p. 106). I have shown elsewhere that Bahman Kaiqubād was not a great historian nor even a reliable annalist, and it is infructuous to attempt to extract "a definite chronological statement" from a casual and vague allusion of this sort (*Ibid*, 65). All that can be said is, that according to the tradition recorded by Bahman, the Parsis were believed to have settled in Cambay about 1070 A.C. (636+100+15+19+300). There is an apparent discrepancy between this date and the mean of the period (942—997 A.C.) *supposed to have been given by Mr. Robertson* for the event. But traditional assertions regarding the first settlement of castes and tribes and family groups in India are, more often than not, inaccurate and untrustworthy and deserve acceptance only after the most meticulous scrutiny.

The truth however, is that there is no authority for asserting that, according to Hindu or local tradition, the *Parsi* settlement was first founded about 942-997 A.C. Mr. Pāhlanji Desai,

¹ According to the Bombay Gazetteer, *Kumārikā Kshetra* was not the designation of any quarter of Cambay itself or of any one of its suburbs. It was, in reality, the "Field of Devi," stretching for eight miles round a temple sacred to that goddess, "which was situated on a spot where the Mahi entered the Ocean" and was "inferior in sanctity to no place upon earth." (VI. 214).

² This is not the Vānkāner in Kāthiāwād, or the Khānpūr-Vānkāner on the left bank of the Mahi, about midway between Barodā and Dākor (B. B. R. A. S. Journal 1904, p. 318), but a village in the Bārdoli Tāluqa of Sūrat district, q. v. Post and Telegraph Guide, February 1924, p. 552.

Mr. Shāpūrji Hodivālā and others who have canvassed the subject have misunderstood the statements of Mr. Robertson in regard to the matter¹. The Compiler of the Bombay Gazetteer expressly warns his readers that "Robertson gives no dates" (*loc. cit.* VI. 216 note), and his "Historical Account" itself is absolutely silent as to the time at which the Parsis first came to Cambay. But in the course of his narrative, Captain Robertson mentions how Mūlarāja Solanki induced some hundreds of Brāhmins to take up their abode in Siddhapur, Sihor, and other places.² "A company of six priests," writes the author of the Rās Mālā, "for a long time refused his gifts, even after they had been accepted by their friends. With these however, the entreaties of the king at last prevailed, and they accepted the gift of the town of Cambay with twelve villages." (Ed. 1878, p. 49). As Mūlarāja reigned from 942 to 997 A.C.,³ the compiler of the Bombay Gazetteer Volume on Cambay has, *on his own motion, inserted those figures at the head of his note on the subject*, and led his readers to think that the Parsis were "attracted to the settlement," *at the same time at which the Brāhmins are said to have been induced to take up their habitations in the Kumārikā Kshetrā*. But this is nothing but a conjecture of his own—a gratuitous assumption for which he had no authority whatever—neither that of Mr. Robertson, nor of local tradition, nor of any book, Sanskrit or Persian. It

¹ *Tārīkhi-Shāhān-i Irān*, II, 497-8. Parsis in Ancient India 52.
J. J. Mody. A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis. 21.

² The traditional account of the settlement of several hundreds of Brāhmins in Cambay and other Gujarāt towns during the reign of Mūlarāja will be found in the Bombay Gazetteer, History of Gujarāt, I. Pt. i. 161. We read: "Several branches of Gujarāt Brāhmins, Audichyas, Shrigaudas and Kanojiās trace their origin in Gujarāt to an invitation from Mūlarāja to Siddhapura and the local Purānas and Mahātmyas confirm the story . . . Grants of villages, were made to these Brāhmins. Siddhapura was given to the Audichyas, Simhapura or Sihor in Kāthiāvāda to some other colony and *Stambhatirītha or Cambay to the Shri Gaudas*." And in another authoritative publication, we are informed that "the name Audichya or Northerner shows that they entered Gujarāt from Upper India. According to their caste traditions, they were invited to Gujarāt by Mūlarāja, King of Anahilavāda, (A.D. 961-996) to help him in holding a sacrifice. When the sacrifice was over, the king offered them presents and grants of land to induce them to stay in his country. Some agreed, and others at first refused till they were persuaded by the *grant of a spot of special holiness at the mouth of the Mahi*." (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX. Pt. i. Gujarāt Population, pp. 6-7.)

³ This is in accordance with Forbes (Rās Mālā, Ed. 1878 p. 49) who follows the *Prabhandha Chintāmani* of Merutunga. (Bombay Gazetteer, History of Gujarāt, I. Pt. i. 157). Other authors make Mūlarāja reign from 961 to 996 A.C. (*Ibid.*)

will be observed that in the immediately preceding line he has interpolated parenthetically, by way of gloss or commentary, another date which is equally unauthorized and erroneous, *viz.* 636, as that of our ancestor's 'first arrival in India.'

But the more important question is, when did this alleged destruction of the Parsis, regarding which so many circumstantial details are narrated and the memory of which had not died out when Mr. Robertson wrote, (1813), actually take place, if it took place at all. Mr. Pāhlanji Desāi has ventured to opine that the event *must have occurred* before 1297 A.C. the year in which Cambay was sacked by Ulugh (or Alf) Khān and Nasrat Khān, the generals of 'Alāud-din Khalji' (*Tārīkh-i-Shāhān-i-Irān*, II. 408). The Compiler of the Bombay Gazetteer account is less positive and suggests that "Kaliānrāi's date could hardly have been before the fourteenth Century," if he belonged to *Sūrat* and not "Sorath."¹ (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VI, 216 note). Dr. Jivanji Modi and Mr. S. K. Hodivālā are even more reticent, and content themselves with accepting the fact without attempting to fix the date. (A Few Events, p. 20 ; The Parsis in Ancient India, p. 52).

The question then is who was this Kaliānrāi ? Was he a shadow created by the popular imagination—a mere *nominis umbra* whose existence is problematical, or was he a really live individual, a historical character whose name can be traced in accredited Chronicles or Annals, and whose date or period can be determined with a reasonable degree of certainty ?

I venture to say that the last two questions can be answered in the affirmative, and I beg permission to lay before you today the evidence on which this opinion is founded.

My case is that the name of Kaliānrāi Baqqāl occurs in connection with Cambay, not in one or two but in five or six historical works of repute, in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* of Nizāmud-dīn, the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh* of Badāoni, the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, the *Akbarnāma* of Abul Fazl, the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* and the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* of 'Ali Muhammad Khān. I will first cite the passages themselves in the original Persian.

¹ It may be worth while to note that Lād Vāniās are "found chiefly in Baroda, Broach, Dabhoi and Sūrat," (Bombay Gazetteer. Gujarāt Population, Vol. IX, Pt. i. 72). They are hardly known in Sorath or Kāthiāwād. Sūrat itself did not exist, as a *town*, before the 14th century.

و چون رایاتِ عالی بر اودی پور رسید عرضداشت
 سلطان خواجر از سورت رسید که بواسطه عدم قول
 فرنگیان جهاز معطل است حضرت خلیفه الهی علمدار که
 از جوانان مردانر بود [فرستاد] که قلیچ خانرا از ایدر بسرعت
 بیاورد تا او را روان ساختن کشتی فرستد و رایات
 جهانکشا چون بنواحی بانسوالر و دونگرپور رسید قلیچ خان
 نیز بملازمت رسیده رخصت سورت یافت که جهازات
 را روان سازد و باتفاق کلیان رای از فرنگیان قول گرفته
 جهازات را بی ساخت و بزودی معاودت نمود و هنوز
 رایاتِ عالی در مالوه بود که شرفِ ملازمت دریافت

Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, Lucknow Lithograph, A. H. 1292
 p. 336, l. 7.

و در همین منزل قلیچ خان را که از ایدر طلبیده
 آصف خان را بجای او سردار لشکر ساختند بودند باتفاق
 کلیان رای بقال ساکن کنبایت بر بندر سورت فرستادند
 تا از فرنگیان قول گرفته جهاز سلطان خواجر را که بجهت
 بیقولی معطل مانده بود را بی سازد و در مالوه آمده بلشکر
 ملحق گردد

Badāoni. Op. Cit. Bibl. Ind. Edition. II. p. 242.

و سید دولت که نوکر کلیان را و کهنبایتی بود لشکر
 جمع نموده متصرفِ کهنبایت شد و زر بسیار از کهنبایت
 بدستش افتاد و قریب چهار هزار سوار گرد آورده بسطان
 مظفر عرضداشت نمود سلطان خطاب رستم خانی را

مع اسپ و خلعت سراپا فرستاد و نوشت که بحال خود
 بوده تا هروقت که طلبیده شود بیاید و سید دولت
 با چهار هزار سوار در ناحیه قصیر نریان آمده با سلطان مظفر
 ملحق شد

Mirāt-i-Sikandari, Bombay Lithograph, 1831 A. C., p.
 441, l. 3.

و در زمان عرش آشیانی انارالله برهانر کلیان رای
 متصدی بندر مذکور با حکم آن حضرت حصار پختار از
 خشت و آهک بر دور شهر ساختار و سوداگران بسیار از
 اطراف آمده درین شهر توطن گزیده اند

Tūzūk-i-Jahāngiri, Sayyad Ahmad Khān's Edition, Aligarh,
 1864, p. 206, l. 6 from foot.

خان خانان رفتن اورا بدان سو بهیچ برنگرفت و مالش
 جام را پیش نهاد همت گردانید او نیز بدین خیال که
 فیروزی سپاه از شنیدن خبر مظفر سراسیمه خواهد شد
 تهوّر گزینان فراهم آورده پیش آمد و در چار کروی از
 گران خواب خودبینی بیدار شد و بزاری و لابرگری
 روی آورد و بمیانجی رای درگا و کلیان رای خواہشہای
 او پذیرائی یافت جیسا پسر خود را با فیل شرزه و دیگر
 تنسوقات روانر کرد و در پناه نیکو بندگی درآمد

Akbarnāma, Bibl. Ind. Text, III. 454, Six lines from foot.

بالجمله قطب الدین محمد خان بعد از استماع این
 واقعه بکوچہای متواتر بر بروده رسید درین شورش سید

دولت نامی کر از نوگران کلیان راو دکهنی (sic) بود
 جمعی را فراهم آورده کهنبایت را متصرف شد زر بسیار
 بدستش افتاد قریب چهار هزار سوار جمع نموده بمظفر
 نوشت مظفر خطاب رستم خانی باسپ و خلعت فرستاده
 نوشت کر بحال خود باشد هرگاه طلبیده شود بیاید

Mirāt-i-Ahmadi, Bombay Lithograph, A. H. 1306, Part. i. p. 156, l. 9.

مظفر فرار نموده بر کهنبایت آمد و از سوداگران
 و متوطنان آنجا زرها گرفت و بزر پاشی واقع طلبان
 فتنه دوست فریب ده دوازده هزار کس از اوباش برگرد
 او جمع شدند مخالف نیز سید دولت را با جمعی
 بدولت فرستاد و پسران اختیارالملک و مصطفی خان
 سروانی را بجانب معمورآباد روان ساخت

Ibid. p. 161, l. 5.

و چون بچهار گروهی توانگر کر مسکن جام است
 معسکر اقبال گردید از راه عجز و نیاز و زاری پیش آمده
 رای درکا و کلیان رای را درمیان انداخت و پسر خود را
 با فیل شرزه و دیگر نفایس روان ساخت خان خانان
 رعایت وقت منظور داشتم از آنجا عطف عذر نمود

Ibid. p. 164, l. 13.

“When the Emperor reached U'dipūr, a despatch arrived from Sultān Khwāja, the Mir Hājī, from the port of Surat, reporting that, owing to no pass (kaul) having been obtained from the Europeans, the ship was useless. The Emperor directed a messenger to be sent to Kalij Khān to bring him quickly to Surat, in order to secure the departure of the vessel.

When His Majesty came into the territory of Bānswāla (Bānswāra) and Dūngarpūr. Kalij Khān also arrived to attend upon him, and was sent to Surat to despatch the ships. He went along with *Kalyān Rāi*, a merchant (*Bakkāl*); and having got passes (*kaul*) from the Europeans, he sent off the ships. He quickly returned, and waited upon His Majesty, while he was in Mālwa." [A. H. 985, XXII R.].

Tabaqāt-i-Akbari Trans. in Elliot and Dowson, History of India. V. 402-3.

"While at this place (Bānswāla and Dungarpur) he sent Qulij Khān (whom he had recalled from Idar, and appointed Āsaf Khān as leader of the army in his stead) together with *Kalyān Rāi Baqqāl*, an inhabitant of Cambay, to the port of Sūrāt to obtain an agreement from the Europeans, so as to set free the ships of Sultān Khwājah, which for want of such an agreement were lying idle. Afterwards he was to come to Mālwah and join the army" (A. H. 984)¹.

Badāoni—Tr. by W. H. Lowe, p. 249.

"Sayad Daulat who was the servant of *Kalyān Rāo of Cambay* collecting an army, possessed himself of Cambay and obtained much money from that port. He entertained nearly four thousand horse and sent a petition to Sultān Muzaḥḥar, who in return sent him the present of a horse and a dress of honour with the title of "Rustam Khān" and ordered him to remain where he was and that he would send for him when wanted. . . . Sayad Daulat joined him near Nariād, with four thousand horse [991 A.H., 1585 A.C.]

Mirāt-i-Sikandari—F. Lutfullah's Trans., p. 318.

¹ This detention of the pilgrim ships is also mentioned by the European authorities. Monserrate writes: "News was brought to the priests that war was being carried on between the Portuguese and the Mongols at Damanum over the question of Butzaris [Blutesar in Pārdi?] which had been given to the Portuguese by the aunt of Zelaldinus when she was staying at Surat and preparing for a journey to Mecca. Her object in making the gift was to ensure friendly treatment in case she fell in with the Portuguese fleet on the voyage. However after her return from Mecca, the old lady, no longer requiring to be on good terms with the Portuguese, told the people of Surat to demand that Butzaris [Blutesar?] should be given back again together with its land. They sent a body of cavalry to occupy the town, but these were routed by the Portuguese with considerable loss." *Commentarius*, Trans. Hoyland, p. 166. See also Vincent Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 203. Mr. R. G. Whiteway has translated Diego de Couto's account of the 'Surat Incident,' (*Decada* X. LIV. II. Chap. 4) of 'what happened to the brave [Portuguese] fleet at Surrate with a ship of Caliche Mahamed' [Qulich Khān] etc. Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1915, Pt. i. pp. 193-197.

"[On Wednesday, the 13th, (Dai, XII R), I went to see the tank of Tarangsar (Narangsar), and passed through the streets and bazaar on the way, scattering nearly 5,000 rupees.] In the time of H. M. Akbar (may Allah's lights be his testimony), *Kalyān Rāy*, the superintendent of the port, by His Majesty's order, built a wall of brick and cement round the city, and many merchants came from various quarters and settled there, and built fine houses and employed themselves in gaining their livelihood under easy circumstances."

Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī.—Trans. A. Rogers & H. Beveridge, p. 417.

"The *Khān-Khānān* paid no regard to this move, and addressed himself to the chastisement of the *Jām*. He too, thinking that the imperial army would be confused on hearing of the departure of Mozaffar, collected daring men and advanced. After proceeding four kos, he awoke from the heavy slumber of self-conceit, and came forward with protestations and fawnings. By the intervention of *Rāi Durgā* and *Kalyān Rāi*, his wishes were accepted. He sent his son *Jaisā*, the elephant *Sherza*, [*Sic*], and other presents, and entered into the shelter of good service."

Akbarnāma—Trans., H. Beveridge, III, p. 683.

"Kutbu-d-dīn Mohammed Khān, hearing of these events, marched by successive stages to Baroda. During this confusion, as Sayyidu-d-Daolat, the servant of *Kaliān Rāo of Khambāyat*, had collected troops and seized on this place, he thus obtained a considerable sum of money; and, after increasing his force to four thousand men, acquainted Sultān Muzaffir of what he had done. Sultān Muzaffir gave him the title of Rustam Khān; and, presenting him with an honorary dress, wrote him in reply to remain where he was, until sent for. Sultān Muzaffir, after his flight, went to Khambāyat, where, having raised a money contribution from the merchants and inhabitants, he collected ten or twelve thousand vagabonds, by distributing his gold to all discontented and seditious characters. The enemy detached Sayyidu-d-Daolat, with a force, to Dholka, and the sons of Ikhtiyāru-l-Mulk, with Mustafā Khān Shirwānī, to Mahmūdībād. When the latter (Imperial Troops) came within four koss of Nawānagar, the *Jām* sent in his submission; and, after having obtained the intercession of *Rāi Durgā* and *Kaliān Rāi*, sent his son to present the Khān Khānān with an elephant and other valuables. The Khān Khānān being victorious, respected the offer made him, and returned."

Mirāt-i-Ahmadi—Bird's Trans., pp 366, 374 & 379.

The first thing necessary is to determine the precise signification of the epithet 'Baqqāl' which is appended to the name of Kaliānrāi in two of these extracts.

It may be predicated with confidence that when used in connection with the system of Hindu castes, it stands for the class known as Vāniās or Banyās.

Thus Abul Fazl explicitly informs us: "The Vaisya and Sūdra are in the same way divided into numerous branches. For instance, there is one caste of the Vaisyas called *Banik*, more commonly termed Baniyā (grain merchant). The Persians name them *Baqqāl*, and of these there are eighty-four divisions." (*Āin*, Tr. Jarrett, III, 118).¹

The author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* tells a curious story of the Gujarāt Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-din Muhammad Shāh and a *Baqqāl*. Mr. Fazl Lutfullah renders the word by the familiar *Wāniya* (*op. cit.* p. 25), Sir E. C. Bayley retains the *original word* in his Translation. (Local Muhammadan Dynasties (Gujarāt), pp. 132-3.)

There is among the Musalman historians of the sixteenth century an absolute consensus as to the caste to which Hemū, the talented and all-powerful minister of Sher Shāh's nephew, Muhammad 'Ādil Sūr belonged. They all declare that he was, like Kaliānrāi, a 'baqqāl.' (*Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* in Elliot and Dowson, Hist. of India, V., 241; Lucknow Text, 239, l. 12; Badāoni, Bibl. Ind. Text I., 389, II, 13; Ranking's Trans. I-500, Lowe's Trans., II., 6; *Rauzat-i-Tāhirin* in Elliot and Dowson, VI., 199). Now we know that Hemū was a Dhusar *Banyā* of Rewāri in the Panjāb (*Akbarnāma* Tr. I, 617; Vincent Smith, Akbar, 34; Ibbetson, Punjāb Castes (1916), p. 242).

¹ The author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* writes :

فرقهٔ ہنود - اقوام مختلفہ و اصنافی متعدده اند از برہمن و
سیورہ و کہتری و راجپوت و بنیہ یعنی بقال و گایتھ و کنبی یعنی
بزرگر و کولی و اہل حرفہ از زرگر و آہن گر و قصار وغیرہم

"The Hindu Community: there are various tribes (or castes) and numerous varieties (or sub-sections) e.g., Brāhmins, Sewras, Khatri, Rājput, *Bania* or *Baqqāl*, Kāith, Kunbi or agriculturist, Koli, and the class of artisans, such as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, etc.' Bombay Lithograph, A. H. 1306, Pt. ii., p. 87, third line from foot.

The sum and substance of the local tradition recorded by Mr. Robertson may be thus stated :—

1. Kaliānrāi was a Dashā Lād Vāniā.
2. He was *Hākīm* or governor of Cambay.
3. He was connected with Sūrat and a pearl merchant.
4. He was a person of great influence and effected the destruction of his Parsi rivals in trade by instigating the Kolis and other lawless and criminal tribes of the neighbourhood to plunder and set fire to the houses of the Zoroastrians.
5. He then founded on the site of the Parsi quarter a new *parā* or suburb exclusively for the Hindus, and the dwelling he had built for himself was standing so late as 1882 A. C. (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VI., 241).

Now the points which emerge from the historical works I have cited are as follows :—

1. Kaliānrāi was a Baqqāl or Banyā.
2. Kaliānrāi was Mutasaddi, or chief executive officer of Cambay in the reign of Akbar.
3. Akbar ordered Qulich Khān who was governor and Jāgirdār of Sūrat, but who was then on special duty in Rājputāna, to take Kaliānrāi with himself to Sūrat with a view to avail himself of the influence possessed by that person with the Portuguese who had detained the pilgrim ships in that harbour (985 A.H.)¹.

¹ According to the Portuguese authorities, the terms of the treaty of peace concluded between them and Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt were that "Bassein * * should be made over to the King of Portugal for ever ; that all ships bound for the Red Sea from the Kingdom of Cambay [Gujarāt] should set out from Bassein, and return thither to pay the duties ; that no vessels should go to other ports without leave from the Portuguese, etc." Danvers, History of the Portuguese in India, I., 406. Badāoni also refers to these passes. "Makhdūmu-l-mulk was said to have "given a *fatwā* that the ordinance of pilgrimage was no longer binding, but even hurtful. When people had asked him the reason of his extraordinary *fatwā*, he had said that the two roads to Makkah, through Persia and over Gujarāt, were impracticable, because people in going by land had to suffer injuries at the hands of the Qizilbāshis [Shi'as], and in going by sea they had to put up with indignities from the Portuguese, whose passports had pictures of Mary and Jesus . . . stamped upon them. To make use, therefore, of the latter alternative, would mean to countenance idolatry ; hence both roads were closed"

4. Sayyad Daulat who plundered Cambay in 991 A.H. and held that town for Muzaffar Gujarāti had been at one time the servant of Kaliānrāi of Cambay.
5. The new wall round the town which the Emperor Jahāngir saw when he visited Cambay in 1618 A.C. had been built by Kaliānrāi the *Mutasaddi* of the port by the orders of Akbar.¹

You will observe that on all these five points, there is a very close agreement between the Hindu tradition and the statements of the Musalman historians. There can be no doubt that the Dashā Lād Vāniā Kaliānrāi of Mr. Robertson is the Kaliānrāi Baqqāl of Nizāmu-d-din Ahmad and Badāoni and that he flourished between 985 and 991 A.H. (1575-1583 A.C.), and we may safely say that the great blow he is said to have struck at the prosperity of the Parsi colony, if not the extermination and catastrophic destruction ascribed to him by tradition, may be placed somewhere in the last quarter of the sixteenth Century.

To put it differently, it would appear that the Parsi Colony was not destroyed *before* the sack of Cambay by 'Alāu-d-din

Muntakhabu-t-tawārikh, Tr. Lowe, II., 206. See also *Tārikh-i-Badāoni*, in Elliot and Dowson, V., 519-20, where the editor has the following note: "Maffei mentions a toll, and Osorius tells us that the Portuguese allowed no one to sail without one of their passports. Faria-e-Souza says that these passports were not unfrequently mere 'letters of Bellorophon,' to the effect that 'the owner of this ship is a very wicked Moor; I desire that the first Portuguese Captain to whom this is shown may make a prize of her'!" See Rowlandson, *Tuhfatu-l-Mujāhideen*, pp. 90, 104." The author of the *Akhhāri-Muhabbat* writes: "Be it known to men of curiosity that from the date that the ships of the Emperor Jalālu-d-din Muhammad Akbar were seized by the Christians, the sending of vessels to the ports of Arabia and Persia was entirely closed . . . because it was considered beneath the dignity to enter into treaties with the Firingis and to send them without entering into any understanding was to throw lives and property into danger." Elliot and Dowson, VIII, 390.

¹ "Cambaya is," says Pietro de la Valle, who visited it in 1623 "a city indifferently large, though most of its greatness consists in suburbs without the walls, which are sufficiently spacious . . . The city, that is, the inner part, without the walls, is encompassed with walls, built with plain cortines and round battlements." [Travels, Tr. G. Havers, 1665, p. 35].

Ogilby (1670 A.C.) also notices the wall (Atlas, v., 213), but says it was of stone. J. Forbes (Oriental Memoirs, Ed. 1834, I., p. 318) says: "The city is now only three miles in circumference surrounded by a brick wall perforated for musquetry, flanked with fifty-two irregular towers without fosse or esplanade."

Khalji's army in 1297 A.C. but nearly three hundred years after that event.

And this conclusion is in *fair, if not complete*, accord with what we know of the Parsis of Cambay, not from tradition or folklore, but from written records of undoubted veracity. It is common knowledge that the Irānian scribe Mihrāpān Kaikhusrū transcribed for a prosperous Behdin merchant of Cambay two copies of the Avestā-Pahlavi *Vendidād* and *Yasna*, in 1323-4 A.C. and these ancient codices are still extant. It is also clear from the superscriptions or addresses of the Persian Revāyets that there was a body of Zoroastrians in that town upto at least 1601 A.C. (970 A.Y.) The Hirbads and Behdins of Cambay are mentioned only in a general way in the Revāyets of Narīmān Hoshang (847 A.Y. 1478 A.C.), and Chāngā Shāh (855 A.Y. 1846 A.C.) and the Letter of 880 A.Y. (1511 A.C.), but their leaders are specifically addressed by name in the missives brought by Jāsā (885 A.Y. 1516 A.C.), Aspandiār Sohrāb, Kāmā Āsā, Aspandiār Yazdiār, Kāus Kāmdin (922 A.Y. 1553 A.C. ?) and Kāus Māhyār (970 A.Y. 1601 A.C.). The important and informing reply dated 896 A.Y. (1527 A.C.) of which the Irānian autograph still survives and constitutes one of the treasures of the Mihrji Rānā Library of Navsāri was brought by Kāmā Āsā (Kāmā Vohrā or Kāmā Bohrā) who was a Behdin of Cambay. And we learn from the introduction to another letter, dated 904 A.Y. (1535 A.C.), that two Behdins named Aspandiār Yazdiār and Rustam had gone to Persia and informed the Irānians that a *stone Dakhma* had been recently consecrated in that town and that a Behdin of note named Khūrshēd Hirā had died about the same time, (Studies in Parsi History, p. 306). It is only after 1601 A.C. that the Cambay Zoroastrians disappear from the Revāyets. The omission of any general or specific mention of them attracts attention for the first time in the Revāyot of Bahman Aspandiār in 996 A.Y. (1626-7 A.C.) and their existence is uniformly ignored in at least twelve other letters addressed by the Irānian Dastūrs to their Indian coreligionists during the next one hundred and fifty years (1626-1783 A.C.)

The marrow of the matter is that the Parsi Colony was flourishing so late as 1601 A.C. and the Mihrji Rānā Library of Navsāri possesses a Manuscript of the Bahman Yasht written on Roz Hormazd, Mūh Mihir 970 A.Y. (1601 A.C.) by Ervad Māhvindād Oshtā Shāpūr Oshtā Ādar Ervad Narsang in *Khambāt* (Dhābar's Catalogue, 1923, p. 3), several years after Kālīānrāi had ceased to be a power in Cambay.

But if this is so, and these facts are incontrovertible, what are we to think of the Tradition? It is hardly necessary to repeat at this time of day that tradition frequently exaggerates, alters and sometimes even perverts the truth. It is often, if not almost always, in error as to dates and names of persons or places and at times makes such confusion in regard to them as to leave a lasting heritage of blunder and bewilderment to posterity. It often picks out some individual who happens to have captured the popular imagination, draws an exceedingly glowing picture of his deeds and even credits him with achievements, possible and impossible, which he had never himself dreamt of performing.

In this instance, it has made Kaliānrāi, its hero or the protagonist of "Hindu Superiority," and coloured the facts accordingly. When it declares through its mouthpiece, (Mr. Robertson,) that the Parsis in Cambay "increased to so great a body that they *outnumbered the original inhabitants*," robbed the "Hindus of *all* their property," drove them to abandon their homes and "remained the *sole possessors* of the city," it is obviously guilty of gross exaggeration. When it asserts that Kaliānrāi destroyed in a night the Parsi colony so completely that not a "Parsi was to be seen in Kooarka Kheshiter" it is again handling the truth very carelessly. When we are asked to believe that he built a new city, constructed reservoirs, improved the defences and did so many other great things that he "received the voluntary homage of eighty-four villages"—the omnipresent Chorāsi of Indian folk-lore—the statements are not false, but there is an evident admixture of fable or hyperbole in them¹.

The truth of the matter would appear to be that Cambay was overtaken, at several times in the sixteenth century, by calamities which gradually sapped the foundations of its wealth and prosperity. The advent of the Portuguese in Indian waters and their possession and fortification of Diu deprived it of its commercial monopoly, and injured its trade very seriously. The

¹ Kaliānrāi was only a third-grade official, and what he is said to have done was due more to the good government of Akbar than to his own efforts. The town-wall was built and "the defences improved" by Akbar's orders. The Emperor Jahāngir explicitly says so. He is also said to have "favoured trade and brought many wealthy men to settle in Cambay," but this was really due to the fact of all "trade and transit duties" having been lowered by the Emperor, who "brought weavers and other skilled work-men, and founded two suburbs calling one after himself, and the other Sikandar or Shakkarpura." Robertson, *loc. cit.* 55; Bom. Gaz., VI., 218.

Emperor Humāyūn pillaged it in 1535, as a reprisal or punitive measure for the plundering of his camp by the Kolis of the neighbourhood¹. It was sacked, and plundered and burnt in 1538 by the Portuguese², who are said to have carried off such an enormous amount of booty that "the ships could not hold it." It was captured and held to ransom by Akbar's turbulent relative, Mirzā Muhammad Husain, in 1573.³ During the Gujarāt insurrection of 1583-4, Sayyad Daulat, who is said by two of our authorities, to have been "a servant of Kaliānrāi of Cambay," possessed himself of it and obtained so much money from the wealthy inhabitants that he was able to horse a body of four thousand freebooters and adventurers. Very soon afterwards, Sultan Muzaffar himself (of whom Sayyad Daulat had been an adherent) appeared before the city after his defeat by the Khān Khānān Abdu-r-Rahīm—and extorted such large sums from the traders and merchants, that he was able to retain the services of ten or twelve thousand "vagabonds and disaffected and seditious persons."

It seems to me that "the kernel of truth" in the tradition is to be sought and found in these troubles and disturbances of 1583-4 A. C. The Parsi inhabitants of the town must have suffered considerably, and their material well-being could not but have been seriously prejudiced by this repeated raiding and pillaging and plundering. But it would appear that during the disturbances of 1583-4, they were, for some reason—paucity of numbers, unprotected condition or the envy and hostility of the other inhabitants—hit harder than the others and that the blow fell most heavily on their quarter of the town. There is nothing very improbable in the supposition that the "Rajputs and Kolees"⁴ with whose assistance, Kaliānrāi is said to have

1 Abul Fazl, *Akbarnāma*, Trans. H. Beveridge, I., 310.; Erskine, *History of India under Bābar and Humāyūn*, II., 62.; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* in Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.* V., 193.

2 "Shortly after the beginning of the sixteenth century, the control of the sea-trade of Cambay passed from the King of Gujarat to the Portuguese . . . They [the Portuguese] for several years (1529-1534) spared no effort to injure the harbours and shipping of Gujarat. Even when (1533) they became the acknowledged rulers of the Cambay seas, it was their interest to reduce Cambay to a local port, and draw the foreign trade to their own cities, Diu, Chaul and Goa." (Bombay Gazetteer VI., 189-190).

3 *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*. Fazl Lutfullah's Trans. 312-313. Bird, *op. cit.* 347.

4 Humāyūn's camp also had been plundered by Kolis. Writing in 1720 A.C., Hamilton says that "the *Rajputs and Kolis* plundered even to the gates, and sometimes surprised the city itself . . . In 1716, they

attacked them in the night, fired their houses "and put them to the sword" were the mercenaries and "vagabonds" who had gathered round his former dependant Sayyad Daulat and Sultān Muzaffar and who were, as usual, allowed to pay themselves by plundering the weakest and most defenceless section of the population.

We have seen that the names of the Zoroastrian residents of Cambay appear for the last time in Kāus Māhyār Khambāiti's Revāyet of (970 A.Y.) 1601 A.C. It may be a mere coincidence, but it is perhaps not insignificant that Sultān Muzaffar's son, Bahādur, again surprised the city in 1606, and proclaimed a reign of lawlessness and outrage which lasted during the fourteen days in which he remained master of the town. (Finch's Journal quoted in Bom. Gaz. VI. 219). Perhaps this was the last straw which broke the camel's back. This second blow, following closely on that of 1583, and before they had had time to recover from the first, probably proved to be even more crushing and the few who survived perhaps voluntarily deserted the city and sought refuge in Sūrat, Broach and other towns.

were very bold and presumptuous, so that a stop was put to the trade of Ahmedabad and Cambay. The Governor of Surat raised an army of 20,000 men to chastise and restrain them. But they laid so many ambushes that in two months the army was reduced to less than half, and the rest were obliged to get home with sorrowful hearts to Surat." New Account of Hindustan, I., 145. *apud* Bom. Gaz., VI., 220.

LECTURE II.

THE OLD PARSI SETTLEMENT

OF

CAMBAY.

I will now advert to another allusion or reference in history to the Cambay Parsis to which equal, if not greater prominence has been given by our writers, but which turns out on examination to be of a very different character. This is the supposed mention of 'Fireworshippers' (*Tarsā* in the original) in a story told by the author of the *Jawāmi'u-l-Hikāyāt* to illustrate the justice and impartiality of a king of Nahrwāla (Anahilawād) called Jayasinha. It is to be regretted that this voluminous work has been never published in the original, and that we have to depend upon and make the best of an English version made in the first instance by a Munshi which was so indifferent as to require thorough overhauling by Professor Dowson (Elliot and Dowson, History of India, II., Preface p. ix). This author says:

"Muhammad Ū'fi, the compiler of this work, observes that he never heard a story to be compared with this. He had once been in Kambāyat (Cambay), a city situated on the sea-shore, in which, a number of Sunnis, who were religious, faithful, and charitable resided. In this city, which belonged to the chiefs of Guzerāt and Nahrwāla, was a body of Fire-worshippers* as well as the congregation of Musulmans. In the reign of a king named Jai Singh, there was a mosque, and a minaret from which the summons to prayer was cried. The Fire-worshippers* instigated the infidels to attack the Musulmans, and the minaret was destroyed, the mosque burnt, and eighty Musulmans were killed. A certain Muhammadan, a khatīb, or reader of the khutba, by name Khatīb Ali, escaped, and fled to Nahrwāla. None of the courtiers of the Rāi paid any attention to him, or rendered him any assistance, each one being desirous to screen those of his own persuasion. At last, having learnt that the Rāi was going out to hunt, Khatīb Ali sat down behind a tree in the forest and awaited the Rāi's coming. When the Rāi had reached the spot, Khatīb Ali stood up and implored him to stop the elephant and listen to his complaint. He then placed in his hand a *kazida*, which he had composed in Hindi verse, stating

the whole case. The Rāi having heard the complaint, placed Khatib Ali under charge of a servant, ordering him to take the greatest care of him, and to produce him in Court when required to do so. The Rāi then returned, and having called his minister, made over temporary charge of the Government to him, stating that he intended to seclude himself for three days from public business in his harem, during which seclusion he desired to be left unmolested. That night Rai Jai Singh, having mounted a dromedary, started from Nahrwāla for Kambāyat, and accomplished the distance, forty parasangs, in one night and one day. Having disguised himself by putting on a tradesman's dress, he entered the city, and stayed a short time in different places in the market place, making enquiries as to the truth of Khatib Ali's complaint. He then learnt that the Muhammadans were oppressed and slain without any grounds for such tyranny. Having thus learnt the truth of the case, he filled a vessel with sea water, and returned to Nahrwāla, which he entered on the third night from his departure. The next day he held a court, and summoning all complainants, he directed the Khatib to relate his grievance. When he had stated his case, a body of the infidels wished to intimidate him and falsify his statement. On this the Rāi ordered his water-carrier to give the water pot to them that they might drink from it. Each one on tasting found that the vessel contained sea water, and could not drink it. The Rāi then told them that he had felt unable to put implicit confidence in any one, because a difference of religion was involved in the case; he had himself therefore gone to Kambāyat and having made personal enquiries as to the truth, had learnt that the Muhammadans were the victims of tyranny and oppression. He said that it was his duty to see that all his subjects were afforded such protection as would enable them to live in peace. He then gave orders that two leading men from each class of Infidels, Brahmans, Fire-Worshippers,* and others should be punished. He gave a lack of Bālotras to enable them to rebuild the mosque and minaret. He also granted to Khatib four articles of dress. These are preserved to this day, but are only exposed to view on high festival days. The mosque and minaret were standing until a few years ago. But when the army of Bālā invaded Nahrwāla, they were destroyed. Sa'id Sharaf Tamin rebuilt them at his own expense, and having erected four towers, made golden cupolas for them. He left this monument of The Faith in the land of Infidels, and it remains to this day."

* *Tarsā*. This name is used for Christians and for Fire-worshippers. It would also sometimes seem to be applied to Buddhists. Down's *Note. Op. cit.* 162-64.

This mention of 'Fireworshippers' in the story as translated in Elliot and Dowson's History of India has led the compiler of the *Bombay Gazetteer* to assert that "at Cambay, Parsis were settled * * * certainly about A.D. 1100," (Vol. XIII., Thāna, Pt. i., 250 Note) and to talk confidently in another place of "Parsi and Musalman riots having taken place in Cambay about the middle of the twelfth century," (*Ibid*, Cambay, Vol. VI., 215). And the author of the 'Parsis in Ancient India' has followed his lead and even pressed the supposed "Riots" into the service of his fanciful Chitod theory. (*Op. cit.* 54, 61).

Dr. Jivanji Mody also has canvassed the matter. He has his "doubts as to the truth of the story," but declares, at the same time, that it "seems to show that long before Muhammad Awfi's visit to Cambay in the beginning of the 13th century, some Parsis lived in Cambay." He lays undue stress on the fact of Awfi's work having been described as a "Romance of History" and cites the opinion of Briggs as to its possessing "no real value in point of authenticity." (*Rise of the Mahomedan Power I.*, 212, Note). A Few Events, 19-20. In other words, he rejects the story itself, but regards the allusion to the "Fireworshippers" or Parsis as genuine and worthy of credit.

It seems to me that this way of looking at the matter obscures the real point or matter in issue and is neither logical nor consistent. It is true that the *Jawāmi'u-l-Hikāyāt* is a collection of tales, episodes and anecdotes drawn from sources and authorities of very unequal value. It is not denied that some of the stories have been 'amplified and embellished' to point some moral which was in the mind of the compiler. But many others have been extracted from contemporary chronicles or other primary and authentic sources and have an undoubted "foundation of fact." (Elliot and Dowson, II., 156). This anecdote about Jayasinha clearly belongs to the latter category. It is not a romance from the *Shāhnāma*, or a legend illustrative of the cunning of the minister of Porus, the prowess of Bahrāmgor or the equity of Naushīrvān or a folktale extolling the strategy of Mahmūd of Ghazni, but an incident which the author would have certainly mentioned if he had written a volume entitled 'Memoirs of My own Times' or 'Men and Events of My Time in India,' or 'Travels and Experiences in Hindustān.' We have here no popular tale or fiction, no old-time apologue or Oriental fable associated in different ages with the names of a variety of celebrated characters, but a matter-of-fact narrative, an event

which had occurred only sixty or seventy years before his own times and which had been related to him by the residents themselves during his visit to the town. It is besides in complete accord with all that we know from other and altogether independent sources of Siddharāja—his fondness for going about among his people in disguise, his secret system of espionage, his masterful personality and distrust of his ministers, and the tolerance extended by him to all creeds from personal indifference or motives of political expediency.

If we turn to another of these souvenirs of Awfī's peregrinations in Gujarāt, the 'story of Rai Gūrpāl of Nahrwāla,' we perceive from the very first sentence, that the writer had, for a stranger, exceedingly good sources of information.

"There was," we read, "a Rāi of Nahrwāla named Gūrpāl, who surpassed all the other rulers in Hindustan in good qualities and amiable disposition. Before he had been raised to the throne he had passed many of his years in beggary, during which period he had experienced all the vicissitudes of fortune, having shared both its smiles and frowns, and endured all the miseries of travel." (Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.* II., 168.)

Surely, this Gūrpāl [or Kūrpāl] is no other than Kumārpāl, who succeeded Siddharāja Jayasinha and whose wanderings and hair-breadth escapes from the plots and machinations of his predecessor are related with such circumstance and gusto by Hemachandra, Merutunga and other Gujarāt chroniclers. (Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, Reprint, 1878, pp. 138-141; Bhagvānlāl Indrajī and Jackson, *History of Gujarāt in Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. i., 182-3).

The story itself and the resolution of 'Gūrpāla' to expiate the mortal sin of looking with the eyes of carnal desire on a washerman's pretty wife by throwing himself on the funeral pyre is in complete accord with the character of Kumārpāla—a senile voluptuary and priest-ridden bigot with a queasy conscience who is known to have erected a great temple "to free himself from the impurity caused by killing a mouse while digging for treasure." (Bom. Gaz. I. i. 190). And the quibble on which its strange dénouement is founded is in perfect conformity with the casuistical doctrine of *Syādvāda* which is familiar to all students of the philosophical system of his spiritual guides—the Jaina Āchāryas.

The third of these Gujarāt episodes, the story of the *Nav-lakhi Vāv* or Tank which was built out of the "nine lakhs of

Bālotras " deposited by a Hindu merchant " in the hands of a certain person " forcibly reminds one of and bears a considerable resemblance to a story told by the Jaina annalists to account for the erection of another great public work — a " temple erected for the spiritual welfare of Prince Mūlarāja "—a son of Bhīmadeva I. (Bombay Gaz., I., i., 169).

"The idol of stone resembling a negro " which is spoken of in the fourth and last of these tales of the Chālukya period — that relating to the theft of the dancing-girl's clothes — (Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.* II., 164-7) — is no other than the 'Bābaro Bhūt' of legend, the *Barbaraka* or *Varvaraka* who is said to have been conquered by Jayasinha in contemporary inscriptions. And it is in virtue of this conquest that he is supposed to have acquired the title of *Siddharāja*, 'Lord of magical powers' and *Siddhachakravartin*, 'Emperor of Magic.'

"According to the *Dwyūshraya*, the king, wandering by night, had subdued the Bhūtas, Sākinis and other spirits. From what he saw at night, he would call people in the day time and say: 'You have such and such an uneasiness,' or 'You have such a comfort.' Seeing that he knew their secrets, the people thought that the king knew the hearts of all men and must be the *avatāra* of some god." * * * *

"According to the common belief, Siddharāja did his great acts of heroism by the help of a demon called Barbaraka, when he is said to have subdued by riding on a corpse in a burying ground. The origin of the story, at least of the demon's name, is historical, being traceable to one of Siddharāja's copperplate attributes, *Barbaraka-jishnu*, that is 'conqueror of Barbaraka.'" (Bhagvānlal Indrajī and Jackson., *History of Gujarāt*, Bombay Gazetteer. I., Pt. i., 173-174. See also *Rās Mālā*. 134)

It seems to me then that it is not the story which is open to doubt or suspicion, but the alleged allusion to the Parsis. It is not the narrative that is false or devoid of verisimilitude. It is the importation into it *by the translator*, of "Fireworshippers," which is unreal and without foundation. In other words, it is the forced and uncritical interpretation of the word *Tarsā* which stands in need of examination and cries for correction.

There is no doubt as to the existence of Musalmans and mosques, at Cambay and several other towns on the West Coast, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era. There is a veritable 'cloud of witnesses' who assert the fact

and their statements are unquestionably veracious.¹ But there is nothing to show that their adversaries, the rival sect which was so numerous and formidable as to completely overpower them, destroy their place of worship and kill eighty of their coreligionists belonged to the body of emigrants or refugees from Persia, whose numerical strength must, by all accounts, have been at this time, inconsiderable, and in regard to whom the burden of proof rests on those who deny the paucity of their numbers or their obscurity and insignificance.

The fundamental issue then, is, 'what did Awfi mean by the word *Tarsā*'? The ignorance and indifference of even well-informed Musalman authors about the religious beliefs of 'Kāfirs' is notorious,² and the Persian lexicographers throw little or no real light on the matter. The *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'a* says that it means 'he who fears, who is terror-stricken or entertains imaginary apprehensions and that Christians and Fireworshippers are so-called.' The *Farhang-i-Rashidī* denies that it is ever used for 'Fireworshippers' and declares that it signifies Christians only—'a Nazarene, religious priest called *Rāhib* in Arabic.' The compilers of the *Farhang-i-Anjuman—ārāi-Nāsiri* repeat the words of the *Rashidī* and assert that the author of the *Farhang-i-Jahāngirī* is wrong in assigning to it the meaning 'Fireworshippers,' because it is the followers of the Messiah who are called *Tarsā*, the 'Fireworshippers' being denominated 'Gabr,' and they cite in support of this statement the following couplet from the *Gulistān* of S'adī, who clearly distinguishes between the two religious denominations.

ای کریمی که از خزانه غیب : گبر و ترسا وظیفه خورداری

(*Gulistān*, Preface.)

If we turn to the European Dictionaries, we find Meninski rendering *Tarsā*, by "Nasrānī, Christianus, infidelis, qui adoret

¹ Istakhri and Ibn Haukal (c. 951, 976 A.C.) say that there were Musalmans and *Jāmi'a* mosques in the cities between Kambāya and Saimūr [Chaūl], and that none but Musalmans ruled over them on the part of the Balhārā. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.* I. 27, 34, 38. Edrisi who wrote about 1153 A.C. tells us that "the town of Nahrwāra was frequented by large numbers of Musalmans who went there on business." (*Ibid.* 88). Kazvini (*Circa* 1257 A.C.) also declares that there were Musalmāns and mosques in Saimūr. *Ib.*, 97.

² "It is astonishing how little even well-educated Muslims knew about other religions. S'adi, for all his wide reading and extensive travels, cannot tell a story about a Hindoo idol temple without mixing up with it references to Zoroastrian and even Christian observances." Browne, *Literary History of Persia* (From Firdausi to S'adi), p. 529 note.

ignem, magus." Meninski, *Lexici Arabico-Persico-Turcici*, Vienna, 1780 (s. v.) Richardson's definition is practically the same, viz., 'A Christian, an infidel, a pagan, a worshipper of fire or a Guebre.' (Persian-Arabic English Dictionary, s. v.). Steingass merely translates the words of the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'a*, but adds that *Tarsāi* (ترساى) signifies 'Lamaism.' (Persian-English Dict., s. v.). Vullers also says that ترساى signifies "dogmata Lamaica" (*Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, s. v.).¹

Firdawsi uses the word frequently in his account of Nūshzād's rebellion and always in the sense of 'Christian,' never in that of 'Fireworshipper' or 'Zoroastrian.' (*Shāhnāma*. Trans. Warner, VII, 219, 270). S'adī also, as we have seen, differentiates between 'Tarsā' and 'Gabr.' Similarly, Amīr Khusrū speaks of the Christian as 'Tarsā' but of the Zoroastrian as 'Mugh.' (*Ishqia*, Tr. in Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.* III., 546.) The fifth chapter (تعلیم) of the twelfth Section of the *Dabistān* which is entitled در عقاید ترسا is divided into three parts. (1) Account of the Lord Aisā. (2) The Creed of the *Nasārā* and (3) the works of the *Tarsā*. (Bombay Lithograph, p. 210 ff. Shea and Troyer's Trans., II., 305-322.) In the exceedingly rare کتاب بیان الادیان ('Description of Religions') of the Imām Abūl M'āalī Muhammad ibn Ubaidallah which was written in 1092 A.C. (485 A.H.), the word is employed thrice (Schefer. *Chrestomathie Persane*, Paris, 1883, II., 138, l. 8 and l. 13, 143, l. 17), and always for the followers of Jesus. The author of the Pahlavi *Shāyast-lā-Shāyast* also uses it in the same sense (West, Pahlavi Texts, Sacred Books of the East, V., 297). Neryosangh also identifies the *Tarsā* with the followers of Jesus, and the mistaken identification by the Pahlavi translators of the Avestaic *Keresāni* [Vedic *Krishānu*] with *Kalasyākā* or *Karsyāk* (See Bartholomæ, *Wörterbuch*, 470), has led him to refer the allusion to the Christians, as is evidenced by the gloss, *Yeshām*

¹ It is a far cry from the Persian lexicons to China, but it would appear from the following note of Dr. Bretschneider that some such amphibology is to be found also in Chinese literature. "According to Palladius, (Ancient Traces of Christianity in China, Russian Orient. Record, I. 25-63)," he writes, "*T'ie-sie* is the Chinese transcription of the word *Tersa*, used by the Persians since the time of the Sassanides to designate the Christians and sometimes also the Fireworshippers and Magi." (Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources, I., 66-7 note). A similar statement is found in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of Asseman (TOMO. III., Pt. ii., 519), and is quoted by Dr. Samuel Lee who opines that if Christians are termed *Terzai* or *Tersai* by the Chinese, one would be led to suppose that Christianity must first have gone from Persia to China. (Travels of Ibn Ba ūta, O. T. F. 1829, p. 217 note.)

prabodhah Tarsākdīni. (Haoma Yasht. 24; Mill's Trans. Sacred Books of the East, XXXI. 237 Note; Shahriārji, Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis, Part II. (*Ijīsni*). p. 26.)

But Musalman authors are proverbially lax in the application of such terms, and all sorts of infidels or pagans are huddled together under 'Tarsā', as under 'Kāfir' and 'Gabr.' We have already seen Vullers and Steingass rendering ترسائی by 'Lamaism' and there can be little doubt that Buddhists are sometimes called *Tarsā* in Persian literature.

The author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* says in his account of Muhammad Bakhtiār Khalji's invasion of Tibet that he was obliged to retreat after having penetrated into the heart of that country and reached a city called Karambattan [*var.* Karambain, Larambain and Kurrumputtun]. The inhabitants of it," he writes, "are Brahmans and Nūnīs [*Var.* توینان - *Tūins*] and the city is under the sway of the chief of these people. They profess the *Buddhist religion*" (Elliot and Dowson, *Op. cit.* II., 311; Bibl. Ind. Text, 154, l. 4).

Prof. Dowson, the translator, says in a note that "the phrase employed in the original for the last two words is *Dīn-i-Tarsāi*, which according to the Dictionaries, means Christianity or Fireworship. *It is not likely that either can be intended here.* * * * The term is probably applied to any established religion other than Muhammadanism."

It will be seen that Dowson interprets the word in two different ways in two different places in the same volume. In the story translated from Awfi, he has allowed the Munshi to give 'Tarsā' the meaning of 'Fireworshippers.' In the extract translated by himself from the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, he renders it by "Buddhists." It is a great pity that he did not leave the word as it was and trusted his readers to interpret it as they pleased. The only other course open to him was to translate it *alike* in both the passages. In either case, this confusion would not have arisen.

۱ داعی وقتى که بطرف لکهنوتى بود ذکر آن شهر نفتیش کرده بود
شهرى است بس بزرگ تمام باره او از سنگ تراشیده و جماعت
برهمنان و * نوینان [*var.* توینان] اند و آن شهر در فرمان مهتر
ایشان است و دین ترسائی دارند—

In his version of the passage, Raverty admits that the word is very widely applied. He cites the different significations given in the Dictionaries, and thinks that the reference here is to Manichæan Christians. (Trans. I. 567 Note-). But the name given to their leaders and its juxtaposition with 'Bīrahmanān' would seem to show that they were *Buddhists*. The reading نونی is obviously corrupt and there is every reason to hold, as M. Quatremère has suggested, that the variant تونان is the correct lection. *This is the Mongol name for Buddhist priests.* "The author of the *Tārikh-i Jihān Kushāi* informs us that Christians were known to the Mongols as 'Arcaoun' (Arghūn ?) while Buddhist monks were designated *Touines* " (Ney Elias and Ross, *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī*. Tr. p. 290 Note: D'Ohsen, Hist. des Mongols, II., 264). Rubruquis also "speaks of the Buddhists as *Touiniens*, and expressly states that *Touin* is the Mongol name for Buddhist ecclesiastics." Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Edit. 1866, I., 241 Note. See also *Ib.* 83 Note.

In this connection, the observations of Mons. Quatremère are worthy of citation: "Among the Oigours, a word corresponding to *Bakhshi* is employed in the sense of *Lāmā*; this is *Touin*, تون. We read in the *Djihān Kuschāi* (Ms. 69, f. 4 v.; Ms. of Ducarroy, 36, f. 4 v.): 'The idolators called *Touin* pretend that in the times anterior to the advent of Islam in Mongolistan, they could converse with the idols, but that since that time, they [the idols] had been annoyed and remained dumb'.¹ In the work entitled *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* (Ms. of Anquetil du Perron, 57, fol. 183 v.), mention is made of *Brahmans* and *Touins* جماعت برهمنان و توینان. * * * The author of the *Djihān-Kuschāi* (Ms. 69, fol. 155 v.) employs the word *Touin* to designate 'Christian priests.' This is the same sort of error as that of

¹ As the point is of some importance, I quote below the original words of the Persian historian which show that by *but-parastān* he means not idolators generally but *Buddhists* or *Lamaists* specifically.

و در زعم جماعت منزویان بت پرستان که باغت ایشان تونین خوانند آنست که پیش از اقامت مسلمانان و ادامت تکبیر و اقامت اقام الله و ادامها بقان را با ایشان مکالمت بود و اکنون از شومی قدم مسلمانان با ایشان خشم گرفته اند و سخن نمی گویند

Tārikh-i-Jehān Kushāi, Ed. Mirzā Muhammad Qazwini Gibb Memorial. Vol. XVI, i., p. 10, l. 6.

the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* (f. 183 v.) who says of a City of Tibet, that its inhabitants professed the Christian religion دارند ترسائی. It is clear that *by the word Tarsāi we should understand the tenets of the Lamas.*" Rashīdu-d-dīn, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, Ed. and Trans by M. Quatremère, p. 198 Note. (The Italics are mine.)

In another passage also, 'Atā Malik Juwainī of the *Tārīkh-i-Jehān Kushāi* (composed A.H. 650-658) employs the word *Tarsāi* in context where the odds are almost equally balanced between Buddhism and Christianity.

Speaking of the Prince of the Nāimāns named Kūchluk, he writes :

چون [کوچلک] بشنید که گورخان از جنگ سلطان باز رسیده است و بارعیت و ولایت بی رسمیه کرده و لشکر نیز با مکامگاه شده مانند برق از میخ فاصد او شد و مغافصه او را فرو گرفت و در ضبط آورد و ملک او را مسلم کرد و دختری از ایشان بخواست و قبیلہ نایمان بیشتر ترسا باشند او را دختر الزام کرد تا او نیز بت پرست شد و از ترسائی انتقال کرد¹

"He [Kushluk] heard that the Gūr Khān had returned from his war with Sultan Muhammad Khwārizm Shāh, and had been ill-treating the people of the province; also that the army had returned to its own country. Then, like lightning from a cloud, he rushed out to meet him, and having seized his followers, brought his kingdom and his army under his own power; he then demanded one of his daughters in marriage. Now the tribe of Nāimān were mostly Christian [*Tarsā*], and when he took that daughter in marriage, he made her abandon Christianity and become an idol-worshipper." (Trans. in Ney Elias and Ross, *History of the Moguls of Central Asia*, p. 290.)

Dr. Denison Ross admits that *Fireworship being out of the question*, 'Tarsā' can mean here *Christians as well as Buddhists*, though he himself is included to prefer the former of these

¹ This passage will be found in Mirzā Muhammad's Edition of the *Jehān Kushā* at p. 48.

possible significations. But I may be permitted to point out that the word is employed by Juwaini in a third passage also, where he would appear to speak of *Tarsā* and *Nasāri* as two different religious denominations. Speaking of Chingiz Khān he writes :

و چون متقلّد هیچ دین و تابع هیچ مِلّت نبود از تعصب
و راحجان مِلّتی بر مِلّتی و تفصیل بعضی بر بعضی ماحبتنب
بودست بلکه علما و زها هر طائفة را اکرام و اعزاز
تباخیل می کردست و در حضرت حق تعالی آن را وسیلتی
می دانست و چنانکه مسلمانان را بنظر توقیر می نگریست
ترسایان و بت پرستان را نیز عزیز می داشت و اولاد و
احفاد او هرچند کس بر موجب هوئی از مذاهب مذهبی
اختیار کردند بعضی اسلام تقلید کرده و بعضی مِلّت نصاری
گرفتند و طائفة عبادت اصنام گزیده و قومی همان قاعده
قدیم آبا و اجداد ملتزم گشته و هیچ طرف مائل نشده
اما این نوع کمتر ماندست و با تقلّد مذاهب بیشتر از
اظهار تعصب دور باشند

Tārikh-i-Jehān Kushāi, Ed. Mirzā Muhammad, p. 18, l. 14.

I may also state, for what it is worth, that elsewhere, this author speaks of Christianity as مِلّت عیسوی (p. 213, last line) and as مِلّت نصاری (p. 225, l. 11) and of Christians as نصاری (p. 214, l. 9.)

But however that may be, and whatever the meaning of Juwaini in this or that passage, it is clear that the word *Tarsā* is occasionally employed by Musalman writers for the followers of Buddha.

But the "very wide" connotation of the term does not end with its application to Christians and Buddhists. It appears to have been loosely used for other types or denominations of

unbelievers, for *any nondescript form of paganism* of which the writer knew so little that he could not call it by its true or specific appellation. Now the best-informed Muhammadan authors were wofully ignorant of Jainism and I know of no writer of that persuasion who gives it that name or gives a clear account of its peculiar tenets except Abūl Fazl.

The result of this ignorance is that the Buddhists (Samānis) are all but universally confounded with the Jainas by Musalmans. The geographer Edrisī (born 493 A.H. 1100 A.C.) who completed his work in 1153 A.C. (547 Hijri) and who died in 1166 A.C. 560 A. H. (Houtsma, *Encyclopædia of Islam*, s. n. p. 451) informs his readers that the king of Nahrwāla of his day was a Buddhist. "Nahrwāra," he writes, "is governed by a great Prince who bears the title of Balharā. He has troops and elephants; *he worships the idol Buddha*."¹ [بودۀ in the original.] (Elliot and Dowson, *Op. cit.*, I., 87: Elliot, *Races of the North-Western Provinces of India*, I., 50: see also Jaubert's French Translation, I., 176). And the polyhistor, Rashidu-d-din commits the same error. "Beyond Guzerāt," he says, "are Kankan and Tāna; beyond them the country of Malibār, which from the boundary of Karoha to Kulam, is 300 parasangs in length. The whole country produces the pān, in consequence of which the Indians find it easy to live there. * * * *The people are all Samānis* (Buddhists) and worship idols. Of the cities on the shore are Sindābūr, then Faknūr, then the country of Manjarūr, then the country of Hili, then the country of Sadarsā, then Jangli, then Kūlam. *The men of all these countries are Samānis*²." (Elliot and Dowson, I., 67-8.) The Italics are mine.

¹ Elsewhere he writes: "Kambāya is fertile in wheat and rice. Its mountains produce the Indian *Kanā*. The inhabitants are idolators (Buddhists)." [بودۀ in the text.] Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, I., 85. This leaves no doubt as to the confusion in this author's mind between Buddhism and Jainism of which latter religion *alone*, there were numerous adherents at this time in Gujerāt.

² In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for 1870 (New Series, Vol. IV) there is an informative article by Col. [Sir] H. Yule entitled "An Endeavour to elucidate Rashidu-d-din's Geographical Notices of India." He there identifies Karoha with Gheriah or Khārepattan and Kūlam with Quilon. He shows that Sindābūr is Chintāpūr or Goa, 'that Faknūr is the Baccanore mentioned by European travellers of the 16th and 17th Centuries.' Manjarūr is clearly Mangalore and Hili, Monte Dely, a prominent landmark on the coast between Mangalore and Cannānore. Sadarsā is a copyist's blunder for Fandarāinā, the Sacrifice Rock of modern maps, about 30 miles North of Calicut. Jangli should be read as Chinkali, an old name of Cranganore. (pp. 342-345.)

Rashīdu-d-din's great work was completed in 710 A.H. 1310 A.C. (*Ibid.* I., p. 42) and there can be little doubt that by 'Samānis' we are to understand here *Jains* and not Buddhists. The former constituted a considerable and influential element in the population of Southern India at the time, the Buddhists had been altogether wiped out. Mr. Vincent Smith writes: "During the two centuries [550-750 A.C.] of the rule of the early Chālukya dynasty of Vātāpi [Badāmi] * * * Buddhism was slowly declining and suffering gradual supersession by its rivals, Jainism and Brahmanical Hinduism" (Early History of India, Ed., 1904, p. 326) "Jainism was especially popular in the Southern Mahratta Country. (*Ib.* 327) * * * The Digambara, or naked sect of the Jains was liberally patronised by this prince [Amogha varsha Rāshtrakuta, r. 815-877 A.C.]. The rapid progress made by Digambara Jainism, late in the ninth and early in the tenth century * * had much to do with the marked decay of Buddhism, which daily lost ground, until it finally *disappeared from the Deccan in the twelfth Century* (*Ib.* 328). * * * The first notable prince of the [Hoysala] line was Vishnu or Bittiga (1117 A.D.) * * * During Vishnu's reign, the Jain religion enjoyed high favour under the protection of his minister, Gangarāja, and the Jain temples, which had been destroyed by the orthodox Chola invaders, were restored." (*Ib.* 331.)

And Lassen tells us: "Their [*Scil.* Jainas'] chief seats are partly in the Southern half of the Dakhani highland, partly in Tuluva or South Canara, on the Malabār Coast. * * * On the Malabār Coast, the princelings of Tuluva, the principal of whom resided at Ikkeri * * * greatly loved the doctrines of the Jainas." (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, IV. 771 *seqq.* translated by E. Rehatsek in Indian Antiquary. II. 265, 263.)

Similarly, when Badāonī says that "*Samānas* and Brahmins * * * who were in every way superior in reputation to all learned and trained men for their treatises on morals * * * gained the advantage of every one in attaining the honour of interviews with His Majesty" [Akbar], he means *Jainas* and not "Buddhist ascetics" as his translators suppose him to do (*Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh*. Bibl. Ind. Text., II., 256; Lowe's Trans., II, 264; Blochmann, *Āin*, Trans. I. 179). It is common knowledge that there were no Buddhists at Akbar's Court or in Hindustān proper at all, in the Sixteenth Century¹.

¹ Max Muller writes: "Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar, could find no one to assist him in his inquiries respecting Buddhism." Introduction to the Science of Religion, p. 24.

"For a long time past," Abul Fazl himself assures us, "scarce any trace of them has existed in Hindustan." (*Āin-i-Akbari*, Tr. Jarrett, III, 212.) On the other hand, it is now common knowledge that the Emperor was profoundly impressed by some of the tenets of the Jainas and even acted up to them. The Jesuit priests at Akbar's Court bear emphatic testimony to the Emperor's regard for Jainism. "He worships," writes Pinheiro in 1595 A.C. "God and the Sun. He is a Heathen. *He follows however, the sect of the Verteas*, [*i.e.* Jainas] who live together like monks in one body and undergo many penitential observances. They eat nothing that has had life. Before they sit down, they clean the spot with cotton brushes, in case they should sit on and kill some insect." (E. D. Maclagan, *Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1896, p. 70; see also *Ibid.*, 65.) Mr. Vincent Smith complains that "the potency of the influence exercised by Jain teachers on the ideas and policy of Akbar has not been recognised by historians. No reader of the works of Elphinstone, Von Noer or Malletson would suspect either that he listened to the lessons of the Jain holy men so attentively that he is reckoned by Jain writers among the converts to their religion, or that many of his acts from 1582 onwards were the direct outcome of his partial acceptance of the Jain doctrine. Even Blochmann failed to perceive that three of the learned men of the time as enumerated in Abul Fazl's long lists, were eminent Jain Gurus, or religious teachers, Hiravijaya Sūri, Vijayasena Sūri and Bhānuchandra Upādhyāya. The first-named, the most distinguished of the three, and credited by Jain authors with the honour of having converted Akbar, is placed by Abu-l-Fazl along with twenty others, including the Shaikh Mubārak, in the first of the five classes of the learned, among the select few who "understand the mysteries of both worlds." (Akbar, 166. For the names of Hiravijaya etc., see Blochmann, *Āin*, Tr. I., 538, 547).

But it is not Edrisī, Rashīdu-din or Badāonī only (who were not specialists or experts in non-Islamic creeds) who mix up the two forms of belief. The author of the *Dabistān*, whose *Cyclopædia* of the 'Faiths of the World' must be pronounced a truly extraordinary production, whether we consider the time at which he flourished, the community to which he belonged, or the state of knowledge and opinion in his age, must be taxed with the same egregious error. He has a chapter entitled 'On the tenets held by the Buddha,' (در عقاید بودۀ), which is really a description of the creed and practices of the *Jainas*, as the translator explicitly says in a note and as will

appear clearly from its very first sentence. "These sectaries are also called *Jātis*." (Bombay Lithograph, A.H. 1262, pp. 174-6 : Shea and Troyer's Trans. II., 210-216.)

And there is nothing to be surprised at in this general confusion. The similarity between the two creeds is so very obvious and remarkable that the greatest European scholars of modern times are still divided in opinion as to their historical relation and philosophical connection. Wilson, Lassen, Weber and Barth hold that the Jainas are a mere offshoot or old sect of the Buddhists. Jacobi, Buhler, Burgess and others maintain that Jainism is "independent of Buddhism and sprang from the same period and the same religious movement in opposition to Brahmanism." (Buhler. *The Indian Sect of Jainas*, Trans., Burgess, 22-3. See also Jarrett, *Āin*, Tr. III., 189 note; Imperial Gazetteer of India, Ed., 1908, I., p. 414.)¹

The points of resemblance may be briefly stated. "Both sects worship mortal men, their prophets, like gods and erect statues of them in their temples." (Lassen, quoted by Jacobi, in *Jaina Sutras*, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII., Introd., xxi). "The founders of both sects are given identical epithets by their disciples and Mahāvīra and Buddha are both styled 'Siddha,' 'Jīna,' 'Buddha,' 'Mukta' and 'Arhat' in the canonical scriptures of the two religions. They also resemble each other in their claim to universality, their extreme regard for animal life, their monastic system and doctrine of Salvation (or Nirvāṇa). Weber has drawn attention to the near relation existing between the Five Great Vows of the Jainas and the five cardinal sins and virtues of the Buddhists." (Buhler. *Op. cit.*, 3, 6 ; Jacobi, *Op. cit.*, xxii)

The upshot of the matter is that the word *Tarsā* is here used for the Jainas by Awfi, who following the example of Edrīsī, Rashīdu-d-dīn, Badāoni, the author of the *Dabistān* and even Abul Fazl² confound those sectaries with the Buddhists

¹ Sir W. W. Hunter who has given a very fair account of these conflicting views, says that "Jainism, is, in its external aspects, Buddhism equipped with a mythology not of gods but of saints, a religion allied in doctrine to ancient Indian Buddhism but humanized by Saint-worship and narrowed from a national religion to the exclusive requirements of a sect." *The Indian Empire*, 3rd Ed., 1892, pp. 206-8.

² Abul Fazl was fairly well-acquainted with the tenets and practices of the Jainas, but even he would appear to confound them with the Buddhists, in the following passage, which is taken from his account of the Kings of Kashmir: "When the accession devolved on Asoka, he abolished the Brahmanical religion and established the Jaina faith." *Āin-i-Akbari*, Tr., Jarrett, II., 382.

and calls them by a name identical with that which had been bestowed upon the Tibetān Lamaism by the contemporaneous author of the *Tabaṣṣūt-i-Nāsiri*.

I submit that this interpretation is the most probable, if not the only one that is tenable, when the internal evidence, as well as the external, when the language of the author himself as well as the surrounding historical circumstances are carefully considered.

In this connection, I beg to invite attention to two statements which seem to me to have been overlooked by previous inquirers in spite of their significance and close bearing on the point in issue.

“None of the *courtiers of the Rāi*,” Awfi informs his readers, “paid any attention to him [the complainant, Khatib ‘Alī] or rendered him any assistance, *each one being desirous to screen those of his own persuasion.*”

And again, “The Rāi then told them [the courtiers or ministers] that *he had felt unable to place implicit confidence in any one because a difference of religion was involved in the case.*”

Now if these words have any meaning, and if *Tarsā* stands here for Zoroastrians, we must believe that some, at least of the Courtiers of Siddharāja were Parsis and they possessed such influence that he was apprehensive of their suppressing or even distorting the truth. In other words, these ‘Tarsā’ must have constituted not only a numerous and dominant element in the population of Cambay, but a powerful party or faction in his own court, whose clannishness he distrusted and whose bigotry he disliked.

Now there is not a tittle of evidence to show that anything like this can be predicated of the Zoroastrian refugees residing in Cambay, but every one of these statements can be easily proved to be true of the Jainas. The political connection of these Sectaries with the rulers of Gujarāt dates from very early times. The name of the Jaina ascetic Shilagūna Sūri is inseparably associated in popular tradition with the accounts of the childhood of Vanarāja Chāvdā (Rās Mālā, 26-28). This Sūri is said to have been the spiritual preceptor of Rūpasundari—Vanarāja’s mother, who built a temple of Pārasnāth at Panchāsar which is still said to be extant. (Rās Mālā, 29; Burgess, *Archæological Antiquities of Northern Gujarāt*, A.S.W.I., IX., p. 44).

Indeed, the Jaina chronicler asserts that "the throne of Gujarāt even from the time of Vanrāj, even the Jains established, though from hate, this truth is not received." (Forbes, *Op. cit.*, 29). Later, we find that not only the councillors and ministers, but the commanders and leaders of the armies of the Chālukyas belonged to this community. More than sixty years before the accession of Siddharāja, Vimalashāh, a Jaina, was sent by Bhīmadeva I with a great host against Dhandhūka, the Pramār Chief of Abū. Dhandhūka is said to have bowed before the storm and "made over to Vimala, the beautiful Chitrakuta peak of Ābū, where in A.D. 1032 (S. 1088) Vimala built the celebrated Jaina temples known as Vimalavāsāhi, still one of the glories of Abū." (Bhagvānlāl Indraji and Jackson, *History of Gujarāt*, Bombay Gazetteer. Vol. I., Pt. i., 169). Bhima's son and successor, Karna, had three ministers, Munjāla, Santu and Udaya, who were all Jainas. Mayanalladevi, the mother of Siddharāja, was the daughter of Jayakeshi, a king of Karnātika, who was a Jaina. During the minority of Siddharāja, Mayanalladevi was regent and was entirely guided by the three ministers of her own persuasion. The chief of them Santū engineered an intrigue, which ended in the death of the leader of the rival faction, Madanapāla, the brother of Karna's mother, Udayānati (*Ibid.* 170-1). Udaya (or Udāyan Mehtā or Mantri) appears to have survived his colleagues and occupied towards the latter end of the reign of Siddharāja the post of Chief Minister (Rās Mālā, 139-140). Udaya left five sons, of whom four, Āhada, Chāhada, Bāhada and Āmbada "entered the service of the State and rose to high stations during the reign of Kumārapāla." (*Ibid.* 83, 141: Bhagvānlāl and Jackson, *Op. cit.*, 170.) And when Siddharāja conquered Saurāshtra, the person chosen as the first Viceroy of the new province was Sajjana, a Jaina, who is said to have spent three years' revenue in building a stone temple of Nemināth on Gīrnār which is still extant and contains an inscription stating that it was completed in V. S. 1176 (1120 A.C., *Ibid.*, 176-7).

As a rule, no love was lost between these sectaries and the Brahmans and their quarrels and controversies were not infrequently pursued with such bitterness and acrimony as to result in tumult and outrage. The Brahmans had lost no opportunity of persecuting their rivals in the days of the earlier Chālukyas who were devout Sivaites or worshippers of Mahādeva. And the Jainas showed themselves not a whit behind-hand in intolerance, when they acquired the ascendancy during the reign of Kumārapāla. The Brahmans were forbidden to offer living sacrifices and the

Jaina chronicler boasts that Hindu ascetics who used deerskins for their covering found it impossible to procure any. The trade of the butcher was entirely proscribed," (Rās Mālā, p. 150). It is even said that "an unlucky merchant who had committed the atrocious crime of cracking a louse was brought before the special court at Anhilwāra, and punished by the confiscation of his whole property, the proceeds of which were devoted to the building of a temple. Another wretch, who had outraged the sanctity of the capital by bringing in a dish of raw meat, was put to death" (Vincent Smith, Early History of India, p. 161, quoting Buhler's German Monograph on Hemachandra, Vienna, 1889, p. 39.¹ See also Bhāvnagar Inscriptions, 172-3, 207, for an epigraph in which Kumārapāla orders to be put to death any one who was guilty of killing animals). In a word, both Brahmans and Jainas were ready to persecute others whenever it was in their power to do so.

But "politicians neither love nor hate," and the Jainas and Brahmans were not incapable of sinking their own feuds when it was to their interest to adopt that course. In this instance, they appear to have done so and combined against a common enemy. And it was this combination of the two factions, (whom he could hold in check only by playing them off against each other), which the politic king looked upon with suspicion and made up his mind to defeat. It is impossible to explain except upon some such supposition, the extraordinary measures he took on this occasion, the forced march, the secrecy, the disguise and dramatic device of filling and exhibiting a vessel with sea-water. It was all part of a carefully-laid scheme—a *coup d'état* for check-mating a party in the state whose growing power was a menace to his authority and whose secret and factious protection of the hated Heir-presumptive, Kumārapālā, threatened to plunge the kingdom into the horrors of civil war (Rās Mālā, 138-41; Bomb. Gaz., I., i., 182-3). This party was no other than that of the Jainas. Its political leader was the astute Shrimāli Vānīā Udāyan Mantri and it was further reinforced by the scheming brain and marvellous learning of the monk Hemachandra. The ministers, councillors and generals of Siddharāja were drawn from it, and their numbers and opulence in that age are borne witness to by the splendid temples at Girnār and Ābū which are the admiration and despair of modern beholders. And it is to them that Awfi refers and the *Tarsū* he speaks of are the Jainas and not the "Fireworshippers," in regard to whom, everything that is known points to their having been numerically

¹ Similar statements are made in Bhagvānāl and Jackson's History of Gujārāt. Bomb. Gaz., I., i., 193.

insignificant, impecunious and obscure at this period in all their other settlements in Gujerāt. It is not at all likely that their condition should have been so extremely different in Cambay alone. The town of Cambay itself was at the height of its prosperity in the first half of the sixteenth century and this would appear also to have been the period during which the Parsi Colony was most flourishing. But the numerical strength of that Colony could not even then have been considerable, as it was practically wiped out and disappears from history altogether within little more than a hundred years and before the middle of the following Century.

In view of the argument of this paper being somewhat involved, it may be permissible to recapitulate the points which emerge clearly from the discussion :

1. The primary and usual signification of the word *Tarsā* is 'Christian.'

2. It is said in some Persian dictionaries that it is also applied to 'Fireworshippers' but no decisive examples or quotations from writers of authority are cited in support of this statement, and none are known to me.

3. The contemporary authors of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* and the *Tārīkh-i-Jihān Kushāi* use the word for the Buddhists.

4. Buddhism and Jainism resemble each other so closely that even well-informed Muhamādan writers, *e.g.*, Idrīsi, Rashīdu-d-dīn, Badāoni and the author of the *Dabistān* confound the Buddhists with the Jainas.

5. All the surrounding circumstances, all the known facts regarding the numerical strength, material prosperity and political influence of the Jainas and the Parsis are adverse to the supposition of the Zoroastrian refugees having had anything to do with the communal riots.

6. The *Tārsās* of Awfi must be therefore held to have been Jainas.

7. In any case, whether the *Tārsās* of Awfi were Jainas or not, there is not a tittle of evidence, literary or historical, in favour of the suppositious reference to our ancestors. The Parsi-Musalman riots at Cambay are, therefore, a myth, and we should probably have never heard of them, if the Munshi to whom the task of making an English rendering of the tale was most unluckily entrusted, had left the word untranslated, instead of picking up at hazard the next possible meaning, which caught his eye in the Dictionary to which he went for explanation in his bewilderment.

LECTURE III.

SOME NEW FACTS AND THEORIES RELATING TO PĀRSI HISTORY.

The earliest European notices of the Parsis in Western India are to be found in the Travels of Friar Jordanus and Odoric of Pordenone (1321 and 1323 A.C.). After this, there is a long interval of more than two hundred years in which there is no reference to our people in any Western author. For the entire period represented by the Sixteenth Century of Christ, we have hitherto possessed only one brief mention—that occurring in the “Colloquies on the Drugs and Simples of India” of Garcia Da’Orta which were first published at Goa in 1563. The allusion was unearthed by the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha and its substance given on his authority in the Bombay Gazetteer. (XIII, Pt. i., 254 : *Ib.* Gujarāt Parsis, IX, ii., 7-8). It has been since reproduced in several other places (Studies in Parsi History, 128 Note ; Mody, Bahman Kaikobād, p. 23), and need not detain us now. But there is another ambiguous reference within the covers of Garcia’s book which has arrested the attention of Parsi writers only very recently, *i.e.*, after the publication of Sir Clements Markham’s complete translation of Da’Orta’s treatise. To put it briefly, Garcia refers in two places to a ‘Khoja Perculim’ or ‘Coje Perculim,’ regarding whom, the translator assures his readers that he was a Parsee, who served as an interpreter to the Viceroy Nuno da Cunha, and became known to Da’Orta on the occasion of the cession of Bassein to the Portuguese by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt in 1534 A.C. As Dr. Mody and some others seem to be disposed to accept Sir Clements’ suggestion, I will cite the passages themselves with a view to enable every reader to form his own opinion.

“A rich merchant, well-known to common fame, and well read in their literature, named *Khoja Perculim*, * served as a secretary to the governors. One day I asked him how it [*scil.* Aloes] was called in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic. He told me that the word was *Cebar* [صبر] in all those languages.”

* A Parsee. When Bahadur Shah ceded Bacaim to Nuno da Cunha in 1534, Khoja Perculim served as interpreter, and he then became known to Garcia da Orta” [Translator’s Note].

"Avicenna was a native of these parts, and not of Spain. The physicians of Persia and Turkey who cured that king I have already mentioned to you, told me that Avicenna was of a city called Bochara which is in the Uzbeque province, a part of Tartary, as we call it, or of the Moguoras as it is known to the natives. Andreas Belunensis calls that country Persia, but this is an undue extension of Persia, for Persia is a small kingdom. Afterwards I met some discreet and well-informed merchants who had lived at Ormuz for a long time, and I asked them the position of Bochara. They told me that it was in the country of Uzbeque, and that there was a great deal of *manna* in it. I was told the same by *Coje Perculim*, a learned man who was in Goa." Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India, Trans. Sir C. Markham, pp. 7, 42, 43.

It goes without saying that the fact of a Portuguese Viceroy employing a Parsee *Dobhāshya* (*Anglive*, 'Dubāsh') or *Tarjumān* (*Anglice*, 'Dragoman') so early in the history of the European connection as A.C. 1534 would be both remarkable and interesting if it can be shown to be true. Unfortunately, the evidence, so far as it goes, points in the opposite direction. In the first place, I have not found the title or epithet *Coje*, *Khoja* or *Khwāja* prefixed to the name of any Indian Zoroastrian in any document or historical record. On the other hand, we know that it was commonly applied to Musalman merchants and officials of Persian extraction, and there are several instances of such an application in the Portuguese annals, e.g., Coje Abraham, (Danvers, History of the Portuguese in India, I., p., 162), Coje Atār, Governor of Hormuz (*Ib.*, I. 166, 167, 170, 287), Coje Zofar [Safar,] (I. 408, 426, 429, 470), Coje Xabadim, [Shihābu-d-din] a rich Moor merchant (I., 422) and Coje Mahomet, (I., 507).

In the second place, Perculim bears no resemblance to any Parsi name, unless we suppose the printer to have omitted, not once, but twice, the *Cedilla*, and also confounded the 't' with the 'l.' It may then represent some form of the Irānian name 'Pishutan,' though the Hindu 'Parshotam' would offer a closer phonetic analogue.

Lastly, we are told that this Khoja Perculim was not only able to enlighten Garcia as to the designation of 'aloes' in Turkish, Persian and Arabic, but to assure him that Avicenna had been born, not in Spain, but in "a city called Bochara in the Uzbeque country." Now it is not very likely that a Parsi trader of those times should have been acquainted with Persian

and Arabic as well as Turkish, and familiar at the same time with the life-history of Avicenna.

I venture to suggest that Coje Perculim "the learned man" with whom Da'Orta forgathered in Goa, was not a Parsee¹ but a Musalman from Persia who bore the name of *Pir Quli*². 'Quli' is a common suffix in the names of Shi'as who join it with the names of their great Imāms and call their male children 'Ali Quli, Hasan Quli, Husain Quli, J'afar Quli, Rizā Quli, Mūsa Quli. The ruler of Turān in the days of Shāh Jahān bore the name Imām Quli³. But the closest parallel is to be found in the name of Murshid Quli Khān who was appointed Dewān of Bengal by Aurangzeb in 1701 A. C. and "ruled the province for nearly a quarter of a century, more as a potentate tributary to a superior than as a subordinate officer." (Thornton, Gazetteer of India, under 'Murshidabad.') Garcia's friend and informant was probably named *Pir Quli*, in memory of some *Pir* or Saint to whose prayers or intercession, his parents believed they were indebted for the gift of a son.

As one of the principal, if not the sole, object of these Lectures is to draw the attention of students to sources of information and facts or statements buried in out-of-the-way places, it may be permissible to quote a description of the Zoroastrians of Navsāri which has seen the light only in the recently published *Monjolicæ Lejationis Commentarius* of Monserrate. The author was a member of the first Jesuit Mission sent to the Emperor Akbar under the leadership of Ridolfo Aquaviva. The Latin Text was discovered only in 1906 and edited by the Rev. H. Hosten in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. III., No. 9, pp. 518-704, Calcutta, 1914). The English translation by J. Hoyland appeared only in 1922. The Missionaries left Goa by sea on 17th November 1579 and landed at Daman on 10th December. Thence they proceeded through Butsār [i.e. Bhutesar] and Navsāri to Sūrat, and arrived at Fathpūr

¹ Indian Parsis are sometimes, confounded with Persian or Irāni Musalmans by European authors. Writing in 1638, Mandelslo says: "In the Bijapur territory, there are more Parsis than either Deccanis or Canarins". Voyages, Ed. 1669, p. 222). He must have meant Muhammadans from Persia.

² The final 'm' in *Perculim* is most probably adventitious or excrement—the usual Portuguese nasal termination, as in Cochin for Kochehi, Agāssim for Agāshi, Bacāim for Vasāi, Bombaim for Bombay, Decanīm for the Deccan. (Danvers, History of the Portuguese in India, II., 528-532.)

³ Abdul Hamid Lāhori, *Bādishāh-nāma*, Bibl. Ind. Edition, II., 192-3.

on 28th February 1580 O.S. (Monserate, *Introd.*, p. vii., Vincent Smith, Akbar, 172-4). This author says :

“ Nausarinum is the chief seat of certain men who call themselves Persians, or *Jezeni*, from the city
 Parsis. of *Jeze* [Yezd] in Persia. By race are Gabraë-
 ans whom the Portuguese call Cuarini. In colour they are white, but are extremely similar to the Jews in the rest of their physical and mental characteristics, in their inclination for hard work, in their dress and in their religion. Indeed they are often called Jews by the Portuguese, nor do they themselves entirely disavow the name. For they acknowledge that they are descended from Abraham, and for this reason practise the rite of circumcision, as do the Hebrews. They correctly calculate the date of the coming of Christ from their ancient documents. The peculiar mark, by which they are conveniently distinguished from other races, as if by a token of religion, is a garment made of linen, of cotton, or of muslin, which hangs down to the thigh. The edges of this garment are stitched together; and its two ends are sewn up. It covers the head, and the ends are tied together over the chest, leaving a square-shaped fold about four inches wide, which seems to correspond to the Theraphis, as it is called, of the Jews. They are forbidden by their religious prejudices to put anything into this fold. They tie round this garment a woven woollen girdle of a considerable length, so that it goes round the body several times. They are under a religious obligation to wear this girdle at all times. They are polluted if they touch a corpse. They do not carry out their dead through the front part of the house, but break a hole through the back wall. The dead moreover are not borne away on men's shoulders, but their feet are tied together and they are dragged along the ground on their backs. They neither burn nor bury corpses, but let them down into a place surrounded with high walls to prevent wild animals entering, as though it were better to be torn and devoured by birds of prey or scorched by the heat of the sun, than to be consumed by the flames, or covered with earth and so disposed of ! They pour out any water that has been left in the house, and no one may use the articles which the dead man has used. These religious customs not only resemble, but definitely reproduce, those of the Jews.

But though these people are bound by so many Jewish religious usages, still they worship Fire and the Sun, and build temples to Fire. They appoint priests, temple-guardians and

soothsayers, and feed the sacred fire with fresh *ghi* or with precious sweet-smelling oil. If they are compelled to establish some statement by oath, they make water upon burning coals, which they regard as the most sacred form of oath. If they refuse to do this, no faith can be put in their word.

On their feast days they pray in the morning, with a very loud voice and in a strange tongue. They have their own writing script. The scriptures of their religion are contained in a single volume, which only those who know the language in which it is written can understand. This volume has three parts, dealing with religious observances, the wisdom and legal enactments of the ancients, and the lore of the Magi (who are regarded by the Persians as a class of sages) regarding prophecy and divination.

The diet of these people consists of milk, *ghi*, oil, vegetables, pulse and fruit. They drink no wine. They are allowed to divorce their wives at will. They cut off the noses of unchaste women, and permit them to become prostitutes.

In conclusion, their character is so wild and savage that they seem to differ not at all from other heathen. For if any disaster happens to them they commit suicide in a horrible fashion.

These are the customs of these Persians."

Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J., Translated by J. S. Hoyland, M.A., 1922, Oxford University Press, pp. 5-8.

After this general description of the manners and customs of the Sūrat Parsis, we have a highly-coloured and overdrawn but substantially correct and faithful picture of a Parsi priest's abhorrence of all kinds of *Nasā*. The writer says that the members of the Mission were compelled to stop at Surat for almost a month, and that they were often engaged in controversy with the protagonists of other faiths. "In this connection", he writes, "a wonderful, nay almost a miraculous, event occurred. For one of the Gabraeans, whom I regard as Jews or Samaritans, was obstinately opposing the Fathers in controversy. Meanwhile, Rudolf chanced to open a casket in which were preserved certain relics of St. Stephen the Proto-Martyr, and of several other Saints. The Gabraean uttered a loud shriek, started back, and exclaimed as though he had gone mad. 'If there are bones of dead men here, I cannot stay, unless I tear off these garments in which I am clothed, and rend them to pieces?' Rudolf answered him quietly, wisely

and in the true spirit of Christianity. 'We do not carry about the bones of the dead, but of the living'. Forthwith, he shut up the casket, and the Gabraean, recovering from his terror started again upon the interrupted controversy". *Ibid.* pp. 9-10.

It may be noted that we have here, not scrappy observations occupying less than a dozen lines, as in Jordanus, Odoric or Garcia, but an elaborate description filling several pages in print. Nevertheless, it is hardly necessary to comment at any length on its misconceptions and blunders. There is nothing very new in the forced attempt to establish a connection between the Parsis and the Jews. Garcia Da' Orta had already repudiated the notion as a vulgar error (*Colloquies*, Tr. Markham, p. 445), but attention may be drawn to the strange assertions by which it is supported, the supposed admission of descent from Abraham¹, the alleged practice of circumcision and the emptying of all water vessels in the house after the removal of a corpse, a custom which is part of the Levitical law.

The most interesting thing in the account is the description of the Sadra, the Kusti and the Garibān or *Kisa-i-Kerfah*, in which the preconceptions of the author lead him to perceive a close resemblance to the 'Theraphis' of the Jews. But if this is the most commendable part of the excerpt, the worst is the alleged observance in connection with the most solemn form of oath. The old European travellers retail and ignorantly repeat many foolish and incredible statements about ourselves as well as other Indian peoples. Fryer and others attribute to us the belief that the future destiny of a departed soul was unmistakably indicated by the choice by the vulture or crow of the right or left eye of the corpse. He even goes so far as to ascribe to the unfortunate Guebres of Persia and by implication to their Indian co-religionists, the loathsome

¹ Monserrate appears to have borrowed this idea directly or indirectly from some Muhammadan author. The compiler of the well-known Dictionary, *Ghāṣu l-Lughāt*, informs his readers that Zardusht was a descendant of Minūcheher and a disciple of Pythagoras and that his name was said to have been Abraham (و نام ابراهیم گویند). Several Arabian writers also, e.g., Tabari and Ibna-l-Athir speak of him as being of Palestinian origin, and identify him with Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah (Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 38, 197, 198, 200). Abul Faraj (circa A.C. 1250) makes him one of the disciples of Elijah. (*Ibid.* 168. 201. See also *Rauzat-u Safā*, Trans. in Shea, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, p. 283.) The traveller Chardin appears to have been told in Persia that the Guebres had a wonderful book called *Zend-pazend-Vosta*, and that Abraham was its author. *Voyages en Perse*. Ed. 1735, Amsterdam, Tom II, p. 181.

and immoral practices associated in the popular imagination with the *Vām-mārgi panth* of the Indian Shāktas.¹

When Monserrate asserts that the Parsis did not carry their dead out by the door, but 'through a hole made in the back-wall' and that the body was dragged along the ground on its back, he is attributing to us, probably under the influence of the *odium theologicum*,² customs said to have been common at one time among the Mongols and other semi-civilized races,³ but of which there is no trace whatever among the *modern* Parsis. But though this is bad enough in all conscience, the cake for stupid vilification may be safely said to be taken by the filthy canard about micturition on live embers.

Monserrate's 'Commentary on the Mogul Mission' was completed about 1590 A.C. (Hoyland's Trans. Introd., xii), but the manuscript lay hidden and unnoticed in the lumber-room of a church in Bengal and first saw the light of day only in 1906.

¹ A New Account of East India and Persia, Ed. W. Crooke, 1912 Vol. I, §294; II., 255). I must say in justice to Fryer's editor that he repudiates these statements. "There is no reason," he writes in a note, "to believe these scandals regarding the Parsis, which Fryer doubtless heard from Persians . . . Such customs have been attributed to various sectarians of Persia (Benjamin, 353, 355, Wills, 154, 339). . . Modern anthropologists disbelieve these accounts (Westermarck, Hist. of Human Marriage, 51 ff.)"

² Monserrate's translator admits that his Journal is filled with "bitter attacks upon Islam," and asks his readers to remember that he speaks in the tone of religious controversy belonging to the sixteenth century. He adds, apologetically, that "the fact of his religious bigotry adds to the value of his witness to the greatness and glory of the Mughal civilization." (Introduction, p. xiv.)

³ But see *Vendidad*, VIII, 10. Trans. Darmesteter, S.B.E. IV. p. 95. Manucci says that when Shāh Jahān died in the fort of Agra, "his corpse was not carried out through the palace entrance; through a hole made in the wall they brought it out head first, this being a superstition among the Mogul Kings, I know not the reason why". (*Storia do Mogor*, Trans. Irvine, II, 126). "Du Jarric informs us that the same ceremony was practised when Akbar died." (*Histoire des Choses plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes*, III, Bk. v., ch. xv, p. 15. Vincent Smith, Akbar, p. 327. Note). Mr. Crooke suggests (Popular Religion and Folklore, 2nd ed., II., 256) that "the corpse was carried head first in order to baffle the ghost and to prevent its finding its way back." Irvine, *op. cit.*, IV., 431. The Arab traveller Abu Zaid Hasan of Sirāf speaks of some such custom as prevailing in Ceylon. "When the king of Sarandīb dies, his corpse is carried," he writes, "on a low carriage very near the ground, with the head so attached to the back of the vehicle, that the occiput touches the ground, and the hair drags in the dust." Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, I., 6. Edrisi has copied the passage but applied it to the Kings of India. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-9.

An almost exactly similar fate overtook another Journal or Diary of an Englishman's doings in India which also contains a passage about the Parsi inhabitants of Sūrāt. Thomas Mundy was elected a 'Factor' by the Court of Directors of the English East India Company, and landed at Sūrāt in September 1628. He was employed at Sūrāt as clerk and Registrar upto 10th November 1630, and was then transferred to Burhānpūr, Āgra and Patna. He returned to England on the 29th of January 1634. The account of his 'Travels in Europe and Asia' remained unnoticed and unknown for nearly three hundred years and the portion relating to India was edited for the Hakluyt Society by Sir Richard C. Temple only in 1914. I am not aware of its having attracted the attention of any Parsi writer, and it seems to have been overlooked even by Dr. Jivanji Mody who has cited portions of the notices occurring in Edward Terry's 'Voyage to India,' Henry Lord's 'Account of the Banyans and the Persees,' and other old books of travels. (Bahman Kaiqubād and the Kissah-i-Sanjān, pp. 24-5).

Mundy's description of the Sūrāt Parsis derives added interest from the fact that he has appended to it a sketch or drawing of a Parsi Dakhma. It is also unusually free from errors, and the only item deserving particular mention is the statement that he had been in a Dakhma himself, *i.e.*, had entered one of these 'towers' by jumping over the walls, which according to the contemporary traveller, Sir Thomas Herbert, were at the most, only "twelve foot in height and eighty in circuit."¹ (Some Years Travels into Diverse Parts of Africa and Asia the Great, Ed. 1665, p. 57.) I may perhaps add that there is a crude woodcut of a Dakhma in this work of Herbert also—who landed at 'Swalley' on the 29th November 1626 A.C. but whose book was first published only in 1655 (*op. cit.*, 42). I will now cite Mundy :

"Parsees are only found about Suratt, whoe neither burie nor burne their dead, but in certain round, wide low towers

¹ In a note on the Dakhmas of Sūrāt, Ervad Jamshedji K-Kātrak says that the height of the wall of the Tower built by Mody Nānābhai Punjia of Sūrāt in 1663 A.C. (1032 A.Y.) is 12½ feet, and that an older Dakhma in its vicinity is only 9 feet high. (Report on the Kolophons of Avesta-Pahlavi Mss. in Parsi Libraries, (February, 1921.) The English traveller Grose, who was in Bombay about 1750 A.C. says that the Tower of Silence in Bombay was twelve feet high and twentyfive feet in diameter. He says he was told that if anybody looked into it, he was sure to die. He himself went, nevertheless, but a Parsee told him to desist, otherwise he should not long survive his curiosity. Voyage to the East Indies, quoted in Dougas, Bombay and Western India, I, 147.

[Towers of Silence] they are laid on their backs with some coveringe over them, circularwise, begining at the circumference untill it come round, and within them another ranck, they lye to putrifie, or to bee eaten by fowle. There bones are throwne into a deepe concavitic like a well, made in the centre of it. As per this figure, *I haveing bine in one of them myselfe*. If anye by chaunce touch any part of a dead man, as a bone etts, hee presently rends all his clothes in peeces and burnes them, remaineing as uncleane for 3 days, none comeinge neere him. It is also held a great misfortune if their Fire should goe out in their howse, and procured againe with a great deale of ceremonie. Theis people came first out of Persia [A.D. 717] leaveinge their countrie because they would not leave their religion att the commencing upp of Mahometisme. And theis are also those that manure [cultivate] the Toddy Trees att Suratt etts." *Op. cit.*, pp. 305, 306. The drawing of the 'Dakhma' faces p. 308.

I have next to speak of two Behdins of Broach, about whom some interesting details are to be found in the correspondence of the East India Company which is being published under the editorship of Sir William Foster. The name of Behdin Āsā Jamshed of Broach occurs in the Revāyet of Bahman Isfandiār (A.Y. 996, A.C. 1626-7) and also in the Letter addressed to Dastūr Kāmdin Padam of Broach in 1005 A.Y. (1635 A.C.). (Studies in Parsi History, 328, 330). And we know from the Fihrist of Nāvārs of the *Vadi Daremeher* of Navsāri that Khūrshed Vikji Rustam Kadvā Mānkā was made a Nāvar for Behdin Āsā Jamshed Bhaḍūchi on Roz Zamyād, Māh Ābān, Vikram Samvat 1694 (1637 A.C.). And thirteen years later, we find another young priest—Barzor Naoroz Dārāb Rānji Peshotān Chāndā Pāhlan Ānnān entered as Nāvar, at the expense of Āsā Jamshed Vorā Bhaḍūchi on Roz Āsmān, Māh Mihr, Vikram Samvat 1707 (1650 A.C.). It is clear from these notices in the Revāyets and the Fihrist that Āsā Jamshed was a man of means and a person of note.

Now what we learn from the letters written by the President and Council of the Company at Sūrāt is that Āsā Vorā had purchased about 1643 A.C. from a Portuguese, Duarte Fernandez (Correa), a ship called the *Salāmātī*, and that the Company's agents were glad to hire it for the transportation of their surplus investment as the ship was 'fitted after the Christian manner.'

We also find that Hirā Āsā—'son to Assa Vorā, a Parsee' who was 'one of the principal merchants in Broach' had exposed,

the knavery of the Company's Hindu Broker, Devidās, and been himself appointed in his place about 1644 A.C. We are then informed at some length of the accusations brought against Hirā Āsā by Vetchrash [Vachhrāj], the son of Devidās, and the persistent efforts made by a factor named Trumball to support them. The President and Council declare that they sent for Hirā Āsā and went through his accounts and record their opinion that 'they believed him to be perfectly honest and were persuaded that he had undertaken the work [the Brokership] more for the reputation of it in that place [Broach] than the benefit hee receiveth.' Not a bad certificate for a Parsi of the 17th century. I will now cite the passages themselves:

"Instructions from President Breton and Council to Robert Cranmer and others, proceeding to Basra, March 26, 1644 (o.c. 1865).

"The goods provided have more than filled the *Francis*, and, as the *Seahorse* is now designed for another employment, it has been decided to embark the surplus in the *Salamati*, a pinnace recently bought of Duarte Fernandez (Correa) by 'Asavora' (Āsā Vorā), and 'fitted after the Christian manner'.

"About six years ago Devidas, the Company's broker at Broach, was fined and dismissed from his post for defrauding them; and his duties were thereupon entrusted to 'Hera Vora' (Hirā Vorā), who had been the instrument of exposing his knavery. This man is 'son to Assa Vora (Āsā Vorā), a Parsee,' and is one of the principal merchants in Broach. For some time accusations have been brought against him by 'Vetchrash,' son of Devidas, but little notice was taken of them, as they were thought to be due to 'mere mallice.' However, last June, Hira Vora came to Sūrāt and brought for examination full accounts from the time of his appointment; and thereupon his accuser was asked to make good his offer of depositing 10,000 *mahmudis*, to be forfeited should he fail to prove his charges. This his representatives demurred to do, and instead enlisted the help of Trumball, who then came to the factory to present an abstract of the allegations. The President and Council 'gently reproved' him for interfering in the matter and required him to hand over a writing he said he had received from the complainants, undertaking to pay the sum demanded, in the event of failing to prove the charges. This he promised to fetch, but failed to do so and returned defiant answers to further demands for the document. At last he sent it, casting

it down at the door of the factory ; when upon examination it turned out to be an obligation already refused as insufficient.***

“ As ‘ Vetchrash ’ would neither deposit the required sum nor produce details of his accusations, they went through Hira Vora’s accounts and, after objecting to certain items, permitted him to return to Broach. They believe him to be perfectly honest and are persuaded that he has undertaken the work “ more for the reputation of it in that place than the benefit hee receiveth.” (The English Factories in India, 1642 to 1645 and 1646 to 1650, by William Foster, Vol. VII p. 168 ; Vol. VIII, pp. 325-26.)

In a letter, interesting for other reasons also, addressed by the Irānian Dastūrs to Dastūr Qawāmu-d-din-Padam Rāmyār and Behdin Āsā Jamshed of Broach, dated the 4th day of Ardibehesht, 1005 A. Y., 10th Jumada II, 1045 A. H. (11th November 1635 A. C. old style), the “ Irānians inform their Indian correspondents that in 997 Yazdajardi [1628 A. C.] and during the reign of Shāh Abbās, the Dastūrs of Irān had suffered such tribulation as was indescribable by tongue or pen, and that two of them had been killed and lost their lives in consequence. The *Jāmāspnāme*h and several other religious works had been taken away by force from them, and they were persecuted because still more books were demanded, though they had none to give.” (Studies in Parsi History, 330-1.)

Now it is possible to quote from the Travels of Chevalier Chardin¹ a passage in which these statements are confirmed almost word for word, and I take this opportunity of inviting the attention of Parsi scholars specially to it, as nothing can be a better testimony to the truth and reliability of the historical allusions in the Persian Revāyets : Chardin says :

“ It is commonly said that they [*scil.* the Guebres or Zoroastrians of Persia] have a well-known book, which contains their religion and their history, and which is entitled *Zend-pazend-Vosta*, but I have never had any news [or information] about it. Abbas the Great, instigated by the curious who were dying of a desire to have this unknown work of which wonderful things were said,—*e.g.*, that Abraham was the author of it, and that it contained prophecies of the greatest Revolutions which

¹ Jean Chardin was a French jeweller who stayed for several years in Persia and travelled extensively in other parts of Asia. He then settled in London, and was knighted by Charles II. He died on Christmas Day, 1713. Cooper’s Biographical Dictionary. *s. n.*

were to occur upto the end of the world,—this prince, I say, made all sorts of efforts to acquire it, and went to the length of putting to death the Chief Priest and some of the notables of these people on that occasion. But it all went to nothing. They always persisted in saying that they had not got it, or that it must have been lost, and that they had delivered all the books they possessed to the king. These books which they had given to him are now in the Castle of Ispahān, and twenty-six in number. I do not know if this is all true, but they say it is so. They [the books] are written in the ancient Persian character of which I have given a reproduction in Plate S.” [facing p. 167]. *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse, et autres Lieux de L'Orient*, Ed. 1735, Tom. II., p. 181.

The name of Nānābhāi Punjiā Mody—the founder of the Mody family of Sūrāt—is well-known, and the dispute which arose in connection with the disposal of his dead body is the subject of one of the Revāyets and familiar to students of Parsi history. But this is almost all that we know about him, and the following references to this worthy which I have found in the Correspondence of the East India Company may be therefore interesting.

“Money paid to Nanaby (Nānābhāi) our Moodye (Modi, house steward), due from the estate of Jeremy Shuker.

President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Factors at Masulipatam and Bantam, 12 Nov. 1630.” (Foster, *English Factories in India, 1630-33*, p. 94).

“Edward Pearce (AtSwally Marine) to the President at Surat, April 26, 1647 (Factory Records, Surat, vol cii., A, p. 124).

“Six bales of white cloth have been found on board and will be sent up. Desires instructions as to the goods which are to go to Surat in the boats. Deceit of ‘Nanaby’ (Nānābhāi) regarding the ‘coles’ (i.e., charcoal). Powder and shot wanted for the Supply.”

“The Same to the Same, May 2, 1647 (*Ibid*, p. 117).

“The reason why the Supply was delayed was that a boat had to be sent back to fetch some bread that had been left behind, ‘through the moodie’s (modi, house-steward) base negligence.’ Transport of China ware and coral to Surat.” The *English Factories in India (1646-1650)* by W. Foster, pp. 125-126.

Extracts from the description of the Sūrāt Parsis in Fryer's 'New Account of East India and Persia' (1698 A.C.) have been quoted in the Bombay Gazetteer and elsewhere, but the following item of information regarding the Parsi broker of the King of Bantam is both new and interesting. The only matter for regret is that the name of the individual is not given. We read:

"The Town (Surat) has very many noble lofty houses, of the Moor Merchants, flat at top, and terassed with plaster. There is a Parsy Broker to the king of Bantam, has turned the outside of his pockets on a sumptuous house, a spacious fabrick, but ill-contrived, as are many of the Banians."

Elsewhere, Fryer writes as follows of the eldest son of this king of Bantam :

"The Heir of Bantam is now here [Sūrāt] to take his Passage thither in one of them, with his Retinue, which are some Pengrims or Lords of the Country, his Unkle and others, which were about Twenty, with their Wives : He was first at Bombaim, where he was entertained like a Prince, for the Obligation the Company have their Trade there, he having been disobedient to the King his Father, and has not yet shewed any kindness to the English, siding rather with the Dutch Interest to undermine the Old King. Here little notice is taken of him, they all being in miserable poor Habits and he of little Credit¹.

A New Account of East India and Persia, Ed. W. Crooke, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 231 and 268.

I have often laid stress on the value of the Persian Revāyets for testing and verifying statements relating to Parsi History, and I may be permitted to bring to your notice one more illustration or example to which my own attention was drawn only a few days ago. Mr. Bahmanji Patell gives the substance of an old document relating to the priesthood of Anklesar in the following words :

વળી એવું પણ જણાય છે કે કેટલાક નવસારીને તાએના ભગરીઆ મોએદો ટેણાંમાં રહી કોઈવાર બેહેદીનાને ત્યાંનું મરણનું કામ કરતા હતા, તે ઉપરથી ગોદાવરા પંચકવાલા મોએદોએ વાંધા ઉઠાવ્યાથી, નવસારીને લગતા મોએદો ખારશેદ ડોસા, આંદા વાછા,

¹ We learn from the Bombay Factory Records—29th September, 1674, that the "Heir of Bantum" was then at Sūrāt, after having stayed, for some time "at Bombaim." (Mr. Crooke's note.)

જેશંગ નરીમાન, નરીમાન હોરમજીઆર, અને ફરેદુન મેહરબાન, ઝમ્મીઝમ્મી ઝમ્ક લેખ ગોદાવરાં પંથકનાં વડાં મથક અંકલેશરનાં મોબેદો, બહેરામ જેસા, આરા આદર, વગેરે સમરાત અંબુમનને લખી આપ્યા છે કે હવેથી ઝમ્ રીતે કોઇઝમ્ કાઢનાં પંથકમાં વગર રહઝમ્ કામ કરવાં નહીં. જે કરે તે ૧૧) રાને યુનેહગારી આપે. *Parsi Prakāsh*, p. 840, note.

Now Dastur Khūrshēd Dosā Wāchhā's name occurs in the Revāyet of Jāsā in 1516 as that of the leading Athornān of Sūrat and that of his brother Chāndā Wāchhā follows close upon its heels in the same document. A Ms. written by this Chāndā Wāchhā of Sūrat for Adhyāru Sāh Chāndā of Khambhāet in 1494-5 A. C., A. Y. 863, V. S. 1549 exists in the Library in Munich, (Dr Unwāllā's Report on the Kolophons of Avesta-Pahlavi Mss. in European Libraries, p. 67). Dastur Jaisang Narsang of Sūrat is also mentioned in the same letter, and he may or may not be identical with the Jaisang Narimān of this *Lekh* or deed of writing. Again, the name of Narimān Hormazyār is found in the Revāyet of Kāus Kāmdin as that of the doyen of the Sūrat priests, and Faredūn Mihrbān would appear to be the father of the Bahman Faredūn whose name stands fourth in the list of the Sūrat Mobeds in the same missive (*Circa* 922 A. Y. 1553 A. C.).

Similarly, the Bahrām Jaisā of the Agreement would seem to be the son of Ervad Jaisā Khūrshēd of Anklesar who is mentioned in the Revāyet of Jāsā (1516 A. C.), and Āsā Ādar was the father of Dādā Āsā who is one of the signatories of a *Bandobast* made by the Godārā Mobeds at Anklesar in V. S. 1611 (1555 A. C.) *Pārsi Prakāsh*, p. 838, and who would appear to have been the leader of the Anklesar Anjuman about 1553 A. C. (Kāus Kāmdin's Revāyet, *oput* Studies in Parsi History, 314). It is clear then that the dispute was not between the Bhagariās of Navsūri and the Godārās, but between the Mobeds of Sūrat and those of Anklesar. It was their immediate or nearest neighbours—the Sūrat Adhyārus who had encroached upon the sacerdotal rights and privileges of the Godārās by thus interloping in their *panthak*. And it is obvious on a little reflection that the Sūratīās would find it easier to come down to Tenā for performing funeral ceremonies, etc., than the Bhagariās.

The date of the agreement cannot be precisely fixed, but the Revāyets to which we are indebted for this correction or rectification enable us to say that it must be in the neighbourhood of 1516 A. C.

There are probably few Parsis who have not heard at some time or other of the *Pestanshāi* coins, and the circumstances in which they are believed to have been issued are narrated with greater or less amplification by several of our chroniclers. Mr. Dosābhāi Frāmji writes:

“The State mint at Aurangābād was also entrusted to their [Vikāji and Pestonji Mīhrji's] charge, and since the advent of the Parsis into the country, there has perhaps been no other family that was permitted by the State to have its own initials or marks engraved on the national coin. A silver coin was struck, probably at the Aurangabad mint, bearing the initial letters of Vikāji's younger brother Pestonji Mehrji, and widely known after him as the *Pestanshai* Coin of the Nizam Government.” History of the Parsis, II, 127-8.

Mr. Bahmanji Patell tells us that Mr. Pestanji put into circulation in 1840 A.C. a silver coin of *Surajmukhi* shape, [whatever that may mean] which was known as the ‘Pestanshāhi Sikka’ and bore his own name.

ઈ. સ. ૧૮૪૦ માં એવણે પોતાને નામનો સુરજમુખી ચાકારનો રૂપાનો સિક્કો કે જે પેસતનશાહી સિક્કાને નામે ઓળખાતો હોતો તે ત્યાં ચાલુ કરીને હોતો. *Parsi Prakāsh*, p. 613.

More recently, Mr. G. K. Narimān has frequently recalled with pride and regret the fact that in “the good old days” of Mughal rule, the Parsi, Pestanji Mīhrji, had enjoyed the unique honour of striking money inscribed with his own name. After the loss and ruin of our Empire in the 7th Century, there was no land or country in which a Zoroastrian ruled as king or in which his name was recited in the public prayers. We had ceased for ever to be, as the Arabs phrase it, *Sāhib-i-Khutba*, but it had been otherwise with the complementary sovereign prerogative of issuing money. That, at least, had remained open to us and the ‘Pestanshāi Sikkas,’ which were current at one time throughout the territories of the Nizāms were convincing proofs of our having continued to be *Sāhib-i-Sikka*, if not *Sāhib-i-Khutba*. And it was a matter of lasting regret to him that this last remnant of our ancient power and glory had been also lost for ever on account of and after the advent and consolidation of British rule in India.

You will see that these statements differ considerably in details. Mr. Bahmanji asserts that the coin was of ‘*Surajmukhi* shape’ and bore Pestanji's name. Mr. Dosābhāi declares that

it displayed only his marks or the initials of his name. In these circumstances, it may be permissible to lay before you to-day the results of my own study of this interesting question.

It is common knowledge that these Pestanshāi coins are cherished as relics and heirlooms by some members of the Vikāji family and we probably owe their preservation in our own times to their sentimental vanity. Mr. Vikaji D. Tārāporewālā possesses a Pestanshāi Rupee and Mr. Kāvasji E. Kotwāl a copper pice of the same type which both appear to be genuine, and my acknowledgments are due to both these gentlemen for lending them to me for the purpose of being shown to you this evening.

Now that the coins themselves are before us, it is easy to see that several of the statements made by Parsi writers in regard to them are without foundation. It is clear from the specimens on the table, that there is no vestige of the name of Pestanji upon them, or even of the first letter or initial of that name. Nor do they exhibit any exclusive mark or symbol which can be said to have been first devised by Pestanji or employed by him alone. All that can be read on the pieces before us is stray letters or fragments of the words بادشاه [Bādishāh], جلوس [Julūs] and ميمانت [Maimanat], which are found on almost all the mintages of Aurangzeb and his successors and the date, سنه [year 4]. As for marks or symbols, the only ones visible are a sword and a star.

These signs and fragmentary components of common words have little or no significance. The only phrase which has a meaning is سنه [Year 4]. It indicates that coins of this type were first struck in the fourth year of the reign of the *fainéant* Mughal Emperor—Bahādur Shāh II. He came to the throne in succession to his father, Akbar II, in 1837 and the fourth year of his reign was 1840—the same in which the ‘Pestanshāi Sikka’ is said by Mr. Bahmanji Patell and others to have been ‘put into circulation.’ You will observe that this ‘year of the reign’ is not that of the accession of the ruling Nizām—but of the Emperor of Dehli¹. The fact is that upto the year 1857—i.e., the year in which the Empire of Dehli was finally extinguished on account of the complicity of this Bahādur

¹ The ruling Nizām, Nāsiru-d-Daula came to the throne, on the death of his father, Sikandar Jāh, in 1829. Pestanji Mīhrji's connection with the State of Haiderābād began only about 1835 (*Parsi Prakash*, 613). This “4th year” therefore could not possibly have any reference to the Nizām's reign.

Shāh in the Mutiny-the Nizāms of Haidarābād had never ventured to put their own names on the coins. It is true that the Nizāms were the real rulers in the South, but their currencies continued, throughout this period, to bear the name and titles of the Emperor of Delhi¹. The important point to seize here is that the Nizāms themselves did not think that they had any right to inscribe their own names on the utterances of their mints. And when this point is thoroughly grasped, when it is realised that the rulers of Haidarābād themselves were not true *Sāhib-i-Sikka*, it becomes plain that the statement about Mr. Pestanji having possessed any pretensions to that dignity is a flagrant violation of historical truth.

The fact of the matter would appear to be that Pestanji was given the 'Ijārā' or farm of the Mint at Aurangābād and it was his duty as 'Ijārdār' to superintend the manufacture and utterance of rupees and copper pice in accordance with the standards of weight and fineness determined by the government of the Nizām. His functions were practically those of a Mint-master or Controller. The only difference was that he received no regular salary for his trouble, but trusted to make a profit and pay himself out of the difference between the intrinsic and nominal value of the coins, between the actual cost of production and the exchange-value fixed by the State.

This custom of farming out the Mints was unfortunately only too common in the declining days of the Mughal Empire. It was first introduced by Ratan Chand, the Diwān of Farrukh Siyar, and any one who glances through Mr. Thurston's valuable 'Note on the History of the East India Company's Coinage from 1753-1835' will find the names of several persons to whom the Benāres Mint was farmed out in the reigns of Ahmad Shāh and 'Ālaungir II. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1893, pp. 54-56.) And we know from Sir John Malcolm, that it obtained generally in Central India, "There are" he writes "mints at almost all the principal towns in Central India, * * *

¹ In a 'Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions,' compiled by Syed Hossain Bilgrami and C. Willmott of His Highness's Civil Service, we read :

"Upto 1858 the coins struck at the Haidarabad Mints bore an inscription relating to the King of Delhi, to the princes of which house the Nizams had upto that period always professed allegiance. In consequence of the events of the Mutiny, however, it was not deemed advisable to continue to superscribe the ex-king's name upon the coins, and it was accordingly expunged in the year alluded to, and the superscription altered to 'Sicca-Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahadur Asaf Jah' ". (Op. cit., II., 229). The Italics are mine.



This *Phool* or star is so free

In time, that Prinsep^h is vested in no particular body, or individual, any banker or merchant sufficiently conversant in the business, has merely to make application to Government, presenting at the same time, a trifling acknowledgment, engaging to produce coin of the regulated standard, and to pay the proper fees on its being assayed and permitted to pass current. Almost all the expense falls on the merchant, the Government retaining in their pay merely the following Officers ; a superintendent, [*Darogha*], an assay-master [*Chokussee*], and an accountant [*Dustaree*], and some refiners [*Nearchees*]." A Memoir of Central India. Ed. 1824. II. 80-81.

It was also extensively prevalent in the territories of the Peshwās, and we may safely presume that it obtained also in the adjoining kingdom of the Nizāms of Haidarābād. In an interesting and informative article on "Currencies and Mints under Mahratta Rule," Mr. M. G. Rānāde informs us that Bālāji Bāji Rāo "granted licenses to private persons to coin money under strict conditions in consideration of a small fee paid to the state." * * * In the year 1760, * * * a central mint was ordered to be opened at Dhārwar under the superintendence of one Pāndurang Murār. He had the sole right to coin and issue Mohurs, Hons and Rupees, paying to Government six pieces each for every one thousand coined by him * * * Minute regulations were prescribed as to the payments of the charges to be incurred by him and the profits he was to receive * * * In 1765-66, a private license was granted to one Laxman Āppāji to open a Mint at Nāsik * * The Rupee was to be 11¼ Māsas in weight, being half a Māsa less than the weight of the silver that could be purchased for a Rupee. This deduction gave the licensee a profit of 45 rupees for every 1,000 coins struck and this covered the licensee's charges for manufacture and waste. In 1767-8, a license was given to two Sonārs to open a Mint at Chinchwad near Poona. * * * A similar concession was made to a Sonār at Tālegaum-Dābhāde in 1766-67 * * * In 1768, two Sonārs at Dhārwar were allowed to open a Mint there [under certain conditions] * * * In 1778, a Kārkun of Tukojiṛāo Holkar obtained a license to open a Mint at Chāndore under certain conditions * * He had to give security for the due observance of these conditions and Tukojiṛāo was ordered to enforce the orders about the purity of silver." (Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1899, No. LV., pp. 195-7.) Elsewhere, Mr. Rānāde states that "the Mints of the Peshwās were set in motion by the large *Sāwakārs* who were credited with the State. In return for the sums borrowed from the

to get from the Mints new-coined ^{Rs.} had had never ventured ^{into} ^{the} ^{Nizā} ^{circulation} ^{by} ^{the} ^{State}. The names of four such *Sāwakārs* are still remembered as having carried on a very lucrative business in this connection. The Thigales and Gulwanis of Kolhāpur and the Angals and Rāstes of Sātārā are still remembered by the bankers of these places. *And the Rupees coined at their instance often bore the names of the Sāwakārs.* The Thigale Rupees or the Gulwani Rupees were well-known in Kolhāpur. As regards the Rāstes, Malhār Bhikhāji Rāste, the brother-in-law of the Peshwā Bālāji Bājirāo, gave the name to Malhārshāhi Rupees struck at Bāgalkot and later on, the Rāstes had a Mint at Wāi". (*Ibid.* p. 195. See also p. 198).

These extracts are perhaps inordinately long but the article itself is founded on the voluminous diaries of the Peshwās and the facts stated are not only new and authentic but furnish an instructive exemplification of the prevailing system. They leave no doubt that the coins put forward from the Aurangābād Mint under the superintendence of the Ijārdār (or 'licensee' as Mr. Rānāde would call him) Pestanji Mīhrji were called 'Pestanshāi,' just as those issued for Malhār Rāo Rāste, the Thigales, Gulwanis and others were called *Malhārshāi*, etc., after the names of those persons. And they also make it clear that these designations were not given to them by the people, because the names of the Rāstes or the Thigales or their initials were inscribed on the coins, but only because those persons were generally known to have had some connection, direct or indirect, with their mechanical manufacture or to have "set the mints in motion" with a view to their circulation.

You will observe that one of the marks or ornaments engraved on the coins is a  or star. This star has been ignorantly supposed by some to be a  or Sun-face, and it has been transfigured by their imagination into the peculiar emblem of the Zoroastrian religion and of the Sun who is one of the special objects of its worship. But this is an easily demonstrable error. The true *Surajmukhi* is a very different symbol and is an attempt to depict *a human face enclosed within the Solar orb*. It is pictured on hundreds of rupees struck by the rulers of Indore and one has only to cast a glance at one of these coins themselves or an illustration in any of the Catalogues of Mughal Coins to be convinced that the ornament on the 'Pestanshāi' rupee is not a Sun-face, and has nothing whatever to do with Zoroastrianism or Sun-worship. That ornament is nothing but a star, an extremely common Mint-mark on the issues of the Mughal period.

This *Phool* or star is so frequently found on the currencies of the time, that Prinsep has figured more than a dozen of the different shapes in which it appears in his Plate illustrating the 'Symbols on Indian Coins.' (Useful Tables, Ed. 1834, p. 55, Nos. 1-14.)

The other symbol which arrests attention on the 'Pestanshāi' issues is common property almost to the same extent. This symbol is a sword or *shamsher*,¹ and there are seven varieties of it on the same plate, Nos. 89-95. These and other emblems (e.g., the *padma*, *jhār*, *katār*, *swastika*, etc.,) were stamped on the coins by the Dāroghas or Superintendents of the Mints very often for their own safety, for the purpose of distinguishing the coins struck during their own periods of office from the issues of their predecessors and successors, and with a view to facilitate the detection of forgeries and base imitations. The fact is a matter of familiar knowledge to all numismatists, and nearly two hundred of such marks or monograms are tabled and illustrated in all modern Catalogues of Mughal Coins, but for the benefit of those unacquainted with the subject, it may be permissible to cite the following passage from Major Webb's 'Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana':

"It is the custom of the country that each newly-appointed 'Dāroga' (mint-master) of the 'Taksāl' (mint) chooses some special mark or device of his own, whereby the coins issued by him, and for which he is responsible, may be easily recognised; hence the large or small marks and devices found on the coins of the State [*scil.* Jodhpur]. The following are examples of marks placed on the coins by the Dārogas, or by other state officials.

ग, mark found on the coin issued by Kari Rām, dāroga of the Jodhpur-town mint from S. 1906 (A. D. 1849) to S. 1919 (A. D. 1862). ग (G) the first letter of 'Gungsharām,' 'a deity much worshipped at Jodhpur' and to whom the ancient Rāj Mandir at that place is dedicated.

ग, mark found on the 'Rururia rupees' coined in S. 1923 (A.D. 1866) by Anar Sinha, Dāroga of the Jodhpur-town mint, being the first letters of 'Rāvana rā sath,' or of 'Rādhā'...

¹ In the Official Gazetteer of Aurangābād District published in 1884, it is said that the 'Pistanshāhi' coin had the impression of a scimitar on one side (p. 726 note), but this mark or ornament had been employed long before Pestanji's time by the Nizām's mint-masters, and Prinsep writing in 1834, says that a sword or *shamsher* was "stamped on the Hyderabad coins of Kāsim Ali and Govind Bukshy" (*Op. cit.*, p. 56, Nos. 90 and 91).

علی mark of Dāroga Mumtāz Ali, who held the post at the Jodhpur-town mint from A. D. 1884 to 1886.

☞ mark of Bohra Gokal Chand, Dāroga of the Sūjat mint from Samvat 1936 (A.D. 1878) to Samvat 1938 (A.D. 1881). See Plate IV, fig. 16.

क mark of Biās Kishen Dās,¹ Dāroga of the Sūjat mint when the last coins were made there in Samvat 1945 (A.D. 1888)

卐 Swastika emblem, used by Joshi Hans Rāj on the coins made at Pāli in the time of Mahārājā Takhat Sinha (See Plate IV., fig. 15).

भा, mark introduced into the coins made at Pāli by Lālā Sedh Mal, Hākim or governor of that Province. It is an abbreviation of 'Mahā Deva.'

बा, mark introduced by Mangal Chand, who succeeded Sedh Mal as Hākim of Pāli in A.D. 1886. It forms the first syllable of 'Bālāji,' whose devout worshipper he was." (*Op. cit.* pp. 41-42.)

This circumstantial account of 'the custom of the country,' with dates, names of places and persons, and origins or explanations of the symbols must be sufficient to convince any one that there is nothing uncommon or extraordinary in Mr. Pestanji having stamped a star or even a *Surajmukhi* on the issues of the Aurangābād mint. It shows that he was doing nothing more than what scores of Hindu and Musalman Mint Dāroghas had been allowed to do before him. Mr. Dosābhāi Frāmji and other Parsi writers have laid stress on his 'initials' or 'marks' or the first letter of his name having been engraved on the coins and have imagined it to be a proof of his having enjoyed the unique and inestimable honour reserved for Ruling Princes. Far from proving any such thing, this elaborate enumeration of contemporary parallels demonstrates that this engraving of initials and first letters was an every day affair, a very ordinary privilege (?) exercised by the Dāroghas, Superintendents and Controllers of Mints all over the country.

One word more. The appellation Pestanshāi has led some people to think and speak as if Pestanji Miharji was a 'Shāh,

¹ This case and that of Mumtāz Ali deserve special notice as both actually did, what Mr. Pestanji is only *said* to have done, stamped a part of the personal name (Ali) or its first letter (क).

or had been given the title of 'Shāh' [king] by the Emperor of Dehli or the Nizām of Haidarābād, and it has been used to countenance and fortify the supposition of his having been a 'Sāhib-i-Sikka,' a prince entitled to strike money bearing his own name. I am sorry to have to say that nothing can be more unsubstantial than this popular derivation. We have already seen that the Rupees issued for the convenience of the banking firm of Malhār Rāo Rāste were called 'Malhār-shāhi' (*Recte*, 'Malharshāi') though no one has ever fancied that Malhār Rāo was a *Shāh*. Similarly, the *Bābāshāi* rupees of Baroda owe their name to the minister, Bābāji Āppāji, whom it would be absurd to speak of as a *Shāh*, and the *Diwānshāi* Koris of Junāgadh, to the Nāgar, Ranchhodji Amarji who was certainly no *Shāh*. Again, we know from the invaluable work of Prinsep which was published in 1834—six years before the year (1840) in which the Pestanshāi Rupees are said to have been first minted—that the Rupees struck by the Nawāb Vazirs of Oude were popularly known as 'Muchleesāhy' from the figure of a fish (*Machhli*) that was stamped on them, that certain Ajmere Rupees were denominated 'Srisāhy,' because the word श्री was their most arresting feature, and that there were 'paisas' called 'Gokool-sahy or Gundasāhy,' because they were current from Gokul Mathurā to Mainpooree. (Useful Tables, pp. 56 and 57). Lastly, Dr. Hoernle has described and illustrated the *Topeshāhi* Rupees struck at Sheopūr in Gwālīor state which were so called because they "had on the reverse a cannon mounted on a gun-carriage", and the usual legends of Akbar II and the regnal date 8-1228 A. H. (1813 A. C.) on the obverse. *Notes on the Coins of Native States* in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1897, p. 265, Pt. XXXI. Nos. 17-18.

But this does not exhaust the evidence against this fanciful etymology. If Mr. Pestanji Mihrji of Tārāpūr is held to have been a 'Sāhib-i-Sikka' on the strength of the coins called 'Pestanshāi,' why should not Ratanji Enti of Sūrāt who lived many years before him, be supposed to have enjoyed the same honour on the ground that Rupees called *Entishāi* were long current in that town and its neighbourhood? Of these *Entishāi* rupees, Mr. Bahmanji Patell speaks in the following terms in the obituary notice of Ratanji Mānekji Enti :—

“ઈ. સ. ૧૭૯૦ ના યુગરાતના સડતાલાના હેખતનાક દુકાળની વખતે
ચુખઈથી મરહુમ રોહ દાદીબાઈ નોરોવાનજીની તરફથી ગરીબોને શરતે

ભાવે વેચવા માટે અનાજની જે બેશુમાર ગુણે એવણુ [રતનજી એંટી] ઉપર મોકલવામાં આવી હતી તે એવણુ શશતી કામતે, પણ નવો શિક્કો લઈનેજ આપતા હતા. નવા શિક્કો વગર કોઈને પણ અનાજ નહીં આપવાના એવણુના મકમ હરાવને લીધે એવણુની અટક તે વેળાથી એંટી કરી પડી હતી અને સુરતમાં નવા રૂપીઆને ‘એંટીસાઈ’ રૂપીઆ કહેવા લાગા હતા.”

Parsi Prakāsh, p. 100.

That is to say, the name *Entishāi* was given to new Rupees, *i.e.*, rupees of the year current, not because Ratanji Enti was a *Shāh* or king, nor because they bore his name or were proofs of his having exercised the sovereign right of coining money, but because they were *in the Enti style*, type, or manner, or came up to the standard of weight or fineness which Ratanji Enti demanded and insisted on having.

I may also add that in Kāṭṭyāwār a peculiar manner or style of putting on the turban is called ‘Hālārshāi’ from Hālār, the district of Kāṭṭyāwār in which it has the greatest vogue.

In view of these facts, it must be clear to the meanest intelligence that the suffix which is variously written *Sāhy*, *Shāhi*, *Shāi* and *Sāi* has nothing whatever to do with *Shāh* or king, but merely signifies ‘manner, style, vogue, currency.’ Indeed, Belsāre says in his Gujarāṭi-English Dictionary that *Abbāshāi* [અબ્બાશાઈ] means ‘light-blue’ or ‘of the colour of water’, and derives it from the Persian *Āb*—‘water’ and *āsā*, ‘like’, ‘similar to’. We may take it then that શાઈ is connected, not with *Shāh*, ‘King’, but with *āsā*, ‘resembling.’

In conclusion, it must be said that the pretensions advanced by some members of the Tārāporewāllā family in regard to this matter are groundless and unhistorical. Pestanji Mīhrji was a great landholder, merchant and banker in his day and all honour to him for his humanity, fair dealing and high character, but it is treason to truth to assert that he was a *Sāhib-i-Sikka*—that he ever struck coins bearing his own name or that he possessed or exercised the sovereign right of coining money. The most that can be said is that he was the farmer or contractor of the Aurangābād Mint, who undertook to supply, for a consideration, the coins required by the State, and was allowed, like hundreds of other mint-masters or controllers, to

affix some mark or marks to facilitate the differentiation of the mintages for which he had made himself responsible from the issues of his own predecessors and the utterances of a multitude of neighbouring *ateliers* which were then incessantly busy. No coins superscribed with Pestanji's own name or even its first letter, *پ* are known, but even if any genuine specimens clearly stamped with his initials are hereafter discovered, they can only prove that he was permitted to do what Mumtāz 'Ali and Kishen Dās Byās and many other Mint Dāroghas had done before him.

LECTURE IV.

SOME NEW FACTS AND THEORIES RELATING TO PARSI HISTORY.

It is now more than fifty years since Khūrshedji Rustamji Kāmā, after having unsuccessfully explored all methods of arriving at the truth in regard to the difference between the Shāhshāhi and Qadmi systems of reckoning, expressed the opinion that old Hindu-Parsi synchronisms would probably be helpful in connection with the investigation and requested his readers to draw his attention to any with which they were acquainted (*Yazdajardi Tārikh*, 1870, p. 38). He himself had then come across only three such parallelisms, viz., Roz Bahman, Māh Tīr, Shrāvan Shudi 9, Samvat 772, Friday; (2) Roz Amardād [*sic*], Māh Abān 692 A.Y. Ashwin Shudi 14, Samvat 1378, Saturday; and (3) Roz Mārespand, Māh Shahrivar, Ashād Shudi 5, V. S. 1475, Wednesday. The first is the famous traditional date of the landing at Sanjān, the second occurs in the Sanskrit Kolophon of one of the two copies of the Avestā Pahlavi Vendidad which Mihrāpān Kaikhusru transcribed for Chāhil Sāngan of Cambay and the third is the popular, but easily questionable and by no means universally accepted date of the bringing of the Irānshāh to Navsāri.

We have, since Khūrshedji Kāmā wrote his pamphlet, discovered several other synchronisms of this sort in Manuscripts; viz., (1) Roz Khurdād, Māh Aspandārmad, 752 A.Y. Paush Shudi [5], Samvat 1439, Thursday; (Pahlavi Texts, Ed. Dastūr Jāmāspji Minocheherji and Mr. B. T. Anklesariā, p. 170.); (2) Roz Bahrām, Māh Aspandārmad, Mārgashirsha Shudi 13, Samvat 1555, Monday (Studies in Parsi History, p. 274. *apud* Geiger, *Aogemdaichā*, Introd. p. 11); (3) Roz Rashna, Māh Bahman 890 A.Y., Kārtikka Shudi 8, Samvat 1577, Friday (Sachau, Contributions to the Knowledge of Parsee Literature, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1870, Vol. IV. Pt. i. p. 271 note; West, Pahlavi Texts, S. B. E. XXIV. Introd. p. xxi); (4) Roz Rashna, Māh Khurdād, Fālguna Shudi 11 (Repeated Tithi) Samvat, 1610, Tuesday, (Studies in Parsi History, 262); (5) Roz Asmān, Māh Shahrivar 944 A.Y. Jyāishṭha Shudi 9, V.S. 1631 Wednesday, (West, *Op. cit.*, p. xl; Studies, 257)¹.

¹ I have recently come across two others :

Roz Khurshed Māh Tīr, 863 A.Y.= Chaitra Shudi 6 V. S. 1549, Saturday, in the Kolophon of a Manuscript written by Chāndā Wāchhā of Sūrāt

All these dates prove on calculation, to be in accordance with the system of reckoning in vogue among the Shahnshāhis. But the similar date-equations which have been found in the Sanskrit Kolophons of Mihrāpān are not so easily elucidated, and there are some difficulties in connection with them which still remain unsolved. Hitherto our knowledge has extended to only two of the five Vikrama-Samvat correspondences of Yazdajardi dates which are recorded in the Kolophons of this Iranian scribe. I shall, before we part, invite your attention to two others, which I have found, but for the present, I shall speak of only the two already known. They are

(1) Kārtikka Shudi 14, Samvat 1377, Wednesday, = Roz Fravardīn Māh Ādar A.Y. 690 [in Pahlavi], 691 [in Sanskrit].

(2) Ashwin Shudi 14, Samvat 1378, Saturday, = Roz Khurdād, Māh Ābān 692 A.Y.

Mr. Meherjibhāi N. Kukā who has discussed the question in the Journal of the Iranian Association (January, 1917, pp. 389 ff.) takes the A.Y. year as 690, and says that the Hindu date in the first equation corresponds to Wednesday, 15th October 1320 and to Roz Fravardīn Māh Ādar Shahnshāhi A.Y. 689. He has further made an attempt to explain the discrepancy on the supposition that "Mihrāpān followed the adjusted Persian Calendar in which one month's intercalation had been made previously to the beginning of Yazdajard's reign, and in which the Gāthā days were put after Ābān Māh, so that its second year began on the 16th of July 632 A.C." But this explanation is founded on a postulate of very questionable character. It is true that in the Sanskrit Kolophon, the Yazdajardi year is given *in figures* as 690, but we cannot accept it in preference to the date (691) given *in words* by Mihrāpān himself in the original Pahlavi, of which the Sanskrit is only a loose paraphrase. And it would be neither safe nor fair to Mihrāpān himself to build any theory in regard to his Chronology upon a statement of this sort—an equation relating to an era or system of reckoning which he did not

for Adhyāru Sāh Chāndā, son of Adhyāru Sāh Chhādā of Kambhāt (Munich No. 66). Dr. Unwālā's Report on Kolophons, p. 67.

In Mr. Kātrak's Report for March 1921, p. 30, a Manuscript of the Persian verse translation of the *Ardāvirāfnāma* is registered, which contains at the end of the Kolophon, the following note in Gujarāṭī:

શેરાખ દાઙ્ગ ગોદાવરાની ચોપડી નેઆએશની સંસકૃત માએની હતી, તેન શને ૮૭૫ રોજ હોરમજદ માહુ અમરદાદ શા. ૮૭૫ એજદેઝરદી શંવત ૧૫૬૨ વરખ ચૈત્રવદી ૨૭ વા. ગરેક એ દીનેની લખેલી છે.

understand and which is made in his name in a postscript written in a language of which he did not know a word. In other words, it is clear that if we wish to ascertain what he himself wrote or meant to write, we must go to the Pahlavi. Now, in this one Manuscript of Miscellaneous Pahlavi Texts, the Parsi Roz Māh are given in three different places, and in two of them, the Yazdajardi year is explicitly given as *Shash Sad navad-ayók* [691] in words. They are :

(1) Roz Khūrshed, Māh Shahrivar, Katīm Vahijak *six hundred and ninety one* (Texts, p. 83; Introd. p. 6).

(2) Roz Fravardīn, Māh Ādar Vahijak *six hundred and ninety one* (Texts, p. 167, Introd. p. 6)

(3) Roz Dai-pa-mihr, Māh Tīr (Texts, p. 168; Introd. p. 7).

And that Mihrāpān himself wrote, rightly or wrongly, 691 and not 690, is also apparent from the following series of consecutive dates occurring in his other known manuscripts.

Roz Rashna, Māh Dai 690. Ms. of Ardāvirāf and Gosht Fryāno written from the older codex of Mihrpanāh Sroshyār of Nishāpūr, "copied in" by the scribe of K20.

Roz Dai-pa-Mihr, Māh Tīr	} Miscellaneous Pahlavi Texts, written at Thānā.
Roz Khūrshed, Māh Shahrivar 691	
Roz Fravardīn, Māh Ādar 691	

Roz Bahman, Māh Fravardīn 692 Yasna Ms. J2, written at some place unknown.

Roz Khurdād, Māh Ābān 692 Vendidad Ms. L4, written at Navsāri.

Roz Āsmān, Māh Dai 692 Yasna Ms. K5, written at Cambay.

Roz Dai-pa-Ādar, Māh Tīr 693 Vendidad Ms. K1, written at Cambay.

It will be seen that there is an interval of about eight months between the 'Ardāvirāf—Gosht Fryāno' and the earliest dated 'Pahlavi Text,' and it would appear not unlikely that Mihrāpān was in Persia when he copied the Manuscript of Mihrpanāh of Nishāpūr on Roz Rashna, Māh Dai 690 A.Y., in which case, he could not possibly have written one of the 'Miscellaneous Pahlavi Texts' at Thānā on Roz Fravardīn, Māh Ādar 690.

But leaving that point aside, let us proceed to determine the date of the Vendidad Ms. L4 in terms of the Christian Era. That codex is said in the Original Pahlavi postscript as well as its Sanskrit paraphrase, to have been written on

Roz Khurdād, Māh Ābān, 692 A.Y.=

Ashwin Shudi 14, Samvat 1378, Saturday.

Now 6-8-692 A.Y. (Shahnshāhi) would correspond to 28th August 1323 A.C. and Ashwin Shudi 14, V. S. 1378 to 25th September 1322 A.C.

It is evident that there is an error somewhere and Mr. Kukā was baffled by the discrepancy and abandoned the problem as insoluble.

I am glad to announce that it is now in our power to spot the error and even trace it to its source. This is due to the discovery of a third date-equation, viz., that occurring in K⁵, the Yasna Ms. written at Cambay by Mihrāpān. As the Sanskrit Kolophon in which it is embodied has not been published anywhere, I give it below in the original from Dr. J. M. Unwāllā's transcript in his Report on the Kolophons of Avesta-Pahlavi Mss in European Libraries :

संवत् १३७९ वर्षी मार्ग शुदि ८ बुधि पारसी सं. ६९२ वर्षी माहदह । रोज आसमान । आध्यहं स्तंमतिर्यि सुलतान श्री गयासदीन राज्यं परिपथयती स्थिवं कालि इरान जमी दिशात् समायात पारसीज्ञातीय आचार्य कदखुस्रव सुत आचार्य मिहिरवानस्य बहूतं मानं कागलं लिखापनंश्च प्रहोय पारसी व्यव सांगणसुत व्यव. चाहिलिन पुण्यार्थ एतस्य पार्श्वत इदं पुस्तकं लिखापितं ईजलि जंदनाम । यः कोऽपि पुस्तकमिदं रक्षति पठति । तिन व्यव. चाहिलस्य पूर्वजानां मुक्तास्मानां तथा एतस्य । निमित्तं पुण्यं करणीयं ॥

You will see that the date-equation is here given as Mār-gashirsha Shudi 8, 1379 V. S., Wednesday, Roz Āsmān, Māh Dai, 692 A.Y.

The Julian equivalent of the Hindu date is 17th November, 1322 and the Roz Māh corresponding to 17th November 1322 was, according to the Shahnshāhi mode of reckoning, Āsmān, Māh Dai, but the Yazdajardi year of the Indian Zoroastrians was 691 and not 692. Here again, we observe that Mihrāpān's chronology is one year in advance of the Shahnshāhi. But leaving that point aside, and reverting to the elucidation of the

discrepancy in the second date-equation, we find that between Roz Khurdād, Māh Ābān (692) and Roz Āsmān, Māh Dai (692), there is an interval of $25+30+26=81$ days. And the difference between 28th August, and 17th November ($4+30+31+16=81$) is also identical.

It is clear then that the correct Vikrama Samvat date of L⁴ must be 81 days anterior to that of its immediate successor K⁶, which is Mārgashirsha Shudi 8, 1379. Now the difference between this and *Ashwin* Shudi 14, 1378 is only of $7+30+15=52$ days.

But the interval between Mārgashirsha Shudi 8, 1379 V. S., and *Bhādrapada* Shudi 14, 1378 V. S., is $8+30+29+14=81$ days.

It is clear then that the writer of the Sanskrit Kolophon has given the wrong *month*, which should be *Bhādrapada* and not *Ashwin*, and the most probable explanation of the error seems to be that he overlooked, in calculating the date backwards or forwards, the fact that Āshād was intercalary in V. S. 1378 *Expired* (Kārtikkādi).

But there is another point also to which our attention is drawn by the discovery of the Hindu date of K⁵. If the difference between the third equation and the second, between Roz Āsmān, Māh Dai, and Roz Khurdād, Māh Ābān, 692 A.V., was one of 81 days, the Gāthās must have been placed, in this instance, after Aspadārmad and not after Ābān, as Mr. Kukā has argued from his reading of the Yazdajardi year of the first equation as 690.

For the annexation of them to Ābān would make that difference one of 25 (Ābān)+ 5 (Gāthas)+ 30 (Ādar)+ 26 (Dai)=86 days.

In other words, the calculation of the interval between the second and the newly-discovered third equation does not bear out Mr. Kukā's theory that the Gāthās were, in Mihrāpān's system of reckoning, appended to Ābān and not Aspadārmad.

But this is not all. I have, within the last few days, found the date-equation of K¹ also, which it seemed hopeless to recover, as the original codex at Copenhagen is now in such a perilously damaged condition, that Dr. Unwāllā had no opportunity of inspecting it. Dastūr Khurshedji Pherozji Pestonji of Balsār has an Avesta-Pahlavi *Vendidād* which is a copy of K¹ and was

transcribed by Frāmarz Rustam Khurshed Hoshang Jāmāsp Bhāiji in 1135 A.Y. (Kātrak's Report, November 1921, p. 7.) And he also possesses another Miscellaneous MS. written by the same scribe in 1137 A.Y. to which the following note is appended by the same copyist, Frāmarz Rustam Khūrshed Hoshang.

نویسنده فرامرز رستم بن خورشید هوشنگ سنجانر ساکن
بلسار بروز تیر ماه فروردین سنه ۱۱۳۷

And then he adds :

کتاب یزشن [وندیداد Recte] با معنی بدپهلوی بخانه
دستور جاماسپ آماجی - روز دیدمهر ماه تیر سنه ششصد و
نود و دو [؟ سر Recte] یزدجردی موافق سیوم جیتر
شد ماه هندی سمت سیزده صد و هفتاد و نر روز دوشنبه
مقرر است

Kātrak's Report, January 1922, MS., No. 12.

There can be no doubt that, the date-equation preserved here by accident is that of K¹, though the writer has owing to a slip of the pen or a lapse of memory, committed an error in his description of the *title* of the Manuscript. The equation is Roz Dai-pa-Mihr, Māh Tīr, 692, A.Y., [Recte, 693?] Jaishtha Shudi 3, 1379 Vikram Samvat, Monday.

Now we have seen that K⁶ was written on Roz Āsmān, Māh Dai, 692 A.Y., Mārgashirsha Shudi 8, 1379 V. S. The difference between the two Hindu Tithis is of 173 days. Mārgashirsha Shudi 8 is the 38th day of the Luni-solar year and Jaishtha Shudi 3 the 210th. The Christian date corresponding to 3-8-1379 V. S. Monday, = 9th May 1323 and as K⁶ was finished on 8-2-1379 V. S. = 17th November 1322, the difference between the two Julian equivalents also is of 173 days.

And the difference between the Yazdajardi Roz Māh of the two codices will be 173, *only if the Gāthās are placed after Aspandārmad.*, (4+30+30+5+30+30+30+14=173.) If those five intercalary days are taken to have been appended to Ābān, the difference between 27-10-692 A.Y. and 15-4-693 A.Y. would be only 168 (4+30+30+30+30+30+14). We are thus forced to adopt the conclusion that in this case also, the evidence is

adverse to Mr. Kukā's hypothetical explanation in regard to the location of the *Khamsa-i-Mustaraga* in Mihrāpān's system of reckoning.

Of the many puzzles and problems connected with the early History of the Parsis, the date of their first arrival in Sanjān is not only the most knotty, but perhaps the most hopelessly insoluble. But this does not mean that, it is not incumbent upon us to tackle it from every side and remove such doubts and difficulties as it is possible in the present state of knowledge to clear up or dissipate. One of the questions that has been raised in regard to the traditional Hindu-Parsi date of the landing relates to the Indian Era referred to in the equation. Is it the Vikrama-Samvat or the *Shaka-Kāla*? May it not be the Gupta or Vallabhi Epoch or even the Chedi or Traikūtaka System of reckoning? The last two are easily put out of court, and the question really turns on whether the year 772 is to be referred to the Era of Vikramāditya or of Shālivāhan. Dr. Mānekji B. Dāvar has advanced the conjecture that it is the *Shaka-Kāla* in which the date is predicated and he has suggested that Roz Bahman Māh Tīr would correspond *very nearly* to Shrāvan Shudi 9 in Shaka 772. The difficulty is that the *week-day does not tally*, and this is a most serious, if not fatal, objection to his theory. The Hindu system of reckoning is on account of its numerous local variations, its conflicting methods of taking the month to begin from the New or Full Moon, the year as Expired or Current, Kārtikkādi or Chaitrādi, so bewildering and yields such uncertain results, that *the week-day is the only check or control* when, as in this case, other criteria or decisive data are not forthcoming.

The impossibility of reconciling the week-day, therefore, militates forcibly against the conjecture, but there are certain general considerations which are even more emphatically adverse. The fact of the matter is, and modern research has proved it, that whenever the year is reckoned in the Epoch of Shālivāhana, some such word or phrase as *Shaka-Kāla*, *Shaka-nripakāla*, *Shaka-varsha*, *Shālivāhana Shaka*, is employed for the express purpose of differentiation or distinction. This is explicitly stated by Kielhorn who declares that out of four hundred Shaka dates,¹ which he had subjected to examination, only five did not contain the word 'Shaka' or some similar epithet. Of these five, one occurred in a record which was

¹ The period covered by these four hundred dates was Shaka 169 to Shaka 1556 (Indian Antiquary, XXIV, 181-211).

spurious. In two, the omission could be reasonably attributed to the exigencies of the metre, and in two others, the reading was doubtful on account of the damaged condition of the original epigraph. Dr. Kielhorn says :

“What strikes one at once in looking over the dates of the lists, and what distinguishes these dates in a remarkable manner from those of the other principal eras, is this that, with insignificant exceptions, *all are explicitly referred to the era to which they belong*. Of the 400 dates of my chronological list, only five do not contain the word *Shaka* or its derivative *Shāka*. And even as regards these five dates, the absence of the word *Shaka* from the two dates, No. 23 of Sh. 589 and No. 299 of Sh. 1317, which are in verse, may be said to be due to the exigencies of the metre; the date No. 7 of the year 388 is altogether carelessly worded and is, moreover, from a spurious record; the reading of the date No. 54, *samva* (765), is somewhat doubtful; and in the date No. 199, which I have given as ‘*Samvatu* 1107’, the word *samvatu* is preceded in the original by one or two effaced *aksharas*, which might well be taken to represent the word *Shaka*. * * *. Now, among the various expressions, employed by the writers to indicate what era they are following, there are five which are principally used. They are *Shaka* (or *Shakanripa*)-*kāla*, *Shaka-varsheshv*=*atiteshu*, *Shakanripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara*, the simple *Shaka-varsha*, and the phrase *Shālivāhana shaka*, or some modification of it.” Kielhorn—On the Dates of the Shaka Era in Inscriptions. *Indian Antiquary*, 1897, XXVI, pp. 148-149.

But if the explicit specification of the Era is the universal practice in regard to Shaka dates, the matter stands on an entirely different footing so far as the Vikrama Era is concerned. According to the same authority, the word ‘*Vikrama*’ occurs very rarely in early times in association with the era. “The connection of *Vikrama* with the era grew up gradually or was an innovation which took centuries to become generally adopted.” I beg to commend to the serious attention of Dr. Dāvar and those who have expressed their sympathy with or approval of his suggestion the conclusions arrived at by Kielhorn after the examination of more than two hundred and eighty dates occurring in the Kolophons of Manuscripts and in inscriptions.¹

¹ The earliest of the two hundred and eighty-eight dates examined was 428 V.S. (372 A.C.), the latest 1877 V.S. (1821 A.C.). *Indian Antiquary*, XX. 125-142.

“When we examine the dates of my list to about V. 1400, the first thing to strike us is that while among the first fifty dates (down to V. 1100) we find only three which the writers expressly refer to the Vikrama era, there are seven such dates among the dates 51-100, (from V. 1100 to V. 1215), fourteen among the dates 101-150 (from V. 1215 to V. 1269), and seventeen among the dates 151-207 (from V. 1269 to V. 1384). For these figures would seem to indicate that the connection of Vikrama with the era grew up gradually, or was an innovation which took centuries to become generally adopted. And here it may be stated at once that the earliest date (of the year V. 898) which contains the word ‘*vikrama*’ at all, describes the era somewhat vaguely as ‘the time called *vikrama*,’ and that only about 150 years later, in a poem composed in V. 1050, we hear for the first time of a prince or king Vikrama, in connection with the era.” * * * “By far the greater number of dates contain nothing to show what era was followed by the writer. It is true that from early times the word ‘year,’ in dates of this era, has been mostly expressed either by the full word *samvatsara* or by the abbreviated terms *samvat* or *sam*, and that in consequence, the term *samvat* has been supposed to denote exclusively a year of this particular era, and that the era itself has been described as the ‘*Samvat-era*’..... The years of only 63 dates of my chronological list are qualified by certain words or phrases which were intended to specify the era used; and it is in consequence of the employment of such words or phrases that the era is spoken of as either the Mālava or the Vikrama era. The number of dates which have given rise to the former designation is only five; 58 dates of my list are expressly referred to the Vikrama era.” The Indian Antiquary, XX. 404-5.

Another high authority, Dr. R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, has pronounced a similar opinion in regard to this matter, which I may be now permitted to quote. In his valuable “Second Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency, during the years 1883-4,” he has discussed the question in reply to a remark made by Dr. Buhler in the course of a Review of his First Report. (Ind. Antiquary, XIV 63.) “Dr. Buhler finds fault with me,” writes Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, “for taking the word ‘*Samvat*’ as expressive in all cases of the Vikrama era which begins in 57 B. C. . . . That the word ‘*Samvat*’ denotes at the present day, the Vikrama era alone and the word ‘*Shaka*’ the era which begins in 79 A.D. is a fact that cannot admit of dispute. But Dr. Buhler thinks this was not the case in former times and that the word ‘*Samvat*’ was sometimes used to

denote the 'Shaka' also . . . I can give a mass of positive evidence to show that for the last four hundred and fifty years at least, the word 'Samvat' has been, just as it is at present, used to denote the Vikrama era only, and the word 'Shaka' or 'Shika' the other." Dr. Bhāndārkar then gives nineteen instances in proof of his contention and says that "in a commentary on the *Bhāsvati*, it is expressly stated that the era of Vikramāditya is called 'Samvat,' and that it is in advance of the Shaka by 135 years." (*Loc. cit.*, pp. 158-160.) And Dr. Buhler himself in his Review of the Second Report says: "Dr. Bhāndārkar's assertion that the term 'Samvat' is used in the present day and has been used since some centuries for the Vikrama era, is, with certain restrictions, perfectly correct. The restrictions are that the conventional use of the term does not extend to Kāshmir and the adjacent Hill States of the Panjāb nor to Nepāl . . . In the other parts of India, of which I have personal knowledge, the majority of the Pandits and Joshis would unhesitatingly make the same remark about 'Samvat,' which as Dr. Bhāndārkar shows, a commentator of the *Bhāsvati-Karāṇa* has put down in writing." (Indian Antiquary, XVIII, 192.)

In other words, Buhler was obliged to admit that the matter had been stated correctly enough by Dr. Bhāndārkar. He only insisted upon certain "restrictions" and pointed out that the statement was not true of Kāshmir, the Panjāb Hill States and Nepāl, but it is hardly necessary to point out that these "restrictions" or exceptions do not apply to the present case and have no bearing upon it.

It will be seen that Dr. Dāvar's contention is identical with the position assumed by Buhler in 1885 – a position which he himself had afterwards to abandon, and which has been proved by the subsequent investigations of Kielhorn to be untenable and out of date.

So far, the question at issue relates to the system of *nomenclature* or the manner of designating the Vikrama era. I will now deal with a difficulty which has been raised by my friend and namesake, Mr. Shāpūrji K. Hodivālā, in connection with the *locality* or part of the country in which it was in vogue. Mr. Shāpūrji contends that the Shaka and not the Vikrama era was current in Gujarāt in V. S. 772, that the eleven Vikrama Samvat dates which have been cited by me from the Inscriptions of the Gujarāt Chālukyas (Studies in Parsi History, p. 84 note) are all much later than 772 and he has cited as his authority, an opinion expressed by Mr. N. Bhāshyāchārya to the effect

that 'no inscription before the 11th Century A.D., adopted the Samvat (Vikramāditya) era.' Parsis in Ancient India, pp. 32-3.

The first two points are very easily answered. The earliest Vikrama Samvat date in a *Gujarāt Chālukya* record which I have quoted is 1042, (986 A.C.) and our friend overlooks the fact that my theory rests on the real reading of the Sanjān date being *not* 772 V.S.; but 992 V.S.:—between which and 1042 V. S. there is a difference of only 50 years.

But there are in the Collection of Inscriptions published by the Bhāvnagar State, two records which demonstrate the inaccuracy of Mr. Shāpūrji's statements more directly still. They are two inscriptions dated 1010 and 1028 Samvat, (954 and 972 A.C.) in which the words *Vikrama kālē* and *Vikramāditya* are explicitly prefixed to the number of the year. (*Op. cit.*, p. 68, Verse 14 and p. 71, verse 17.) It is needless to point out that between 992 V.S. and 1010 V.S. there is a difference of only 18 years. But the matter is clinched by the fact that in a Dholpūr inscription of Chauhān Chandamahāsena, the year 898 V.S. is explicitly said to be of the *Time [Kāla] called Vikrama* and expressed thus:

Vasu nava [a] shtan varshā gatasya, Kālasya Vikramakh-
yasya, Kielhorn. Ind. Antiq. XIX. 35 : XX. 126.

The statement about the Vikramāditya Samvat not occurring in any epigraphic record before the 11th Century of Christ is really founded on a mere quibble—a mere play upon words. A glance at the following citation from Kielhorn who has examined and expounded the matter with great minuteness and clarity will show that the Era, *i.e.*, the mode of reckoning in an epoch of which the initial year was 57 A.C.—was current long before the 11th Century of Christ. The earliest date, shown by Kielhorn's calculations to *indisputably* belong or refer to the Era commencing from 57 B.C. is 428 V. S. It is true—and this is the *apparent* grain of truth in the statement—that the word or epithet 'Vikrama' was *not explicitly prefixed to the number of the year* for some centuries after that Era or mode of reckoning came into general vogue, but that has really nothing to do with the matter, as that epithet or designation is *not prefixed to the date in question* which is expressed as "Samvat 772," and not "*Vikrama* Samvat 772." Let me now state in that scholar's own words, the points made clear by Kielhorn:

"The earliest known dates, from V. 428 to 898, are all from Eastern Rājputānā, chiefly from that part of Eastern Rājpu-

tānā which borders on, or is included in, Mālava * * * * From Rājputānā, the list takes us in an eastern direction, first to the neighbouring State of Gwālīor, and afterwards through Bundelkhand and Rewā as far as Gayā in Bihār. * * * * To the south-east of Rājputānā, and adjoining it, is Mālava. Of the Paramāra princes of this country and their successors we have the following dates : Nos. 35, 36, and 40 (V. 1031, 1036, and 1050) of Vākpatirāja-Munja. * * * * Adjoining Rājputānā on the south, and west of Mālava was the kingdom of Anhilvād (including Kāthiāvād), the Chaulukya and Vāghelā rulers of which furnish us with the following long list of dates : No. 38 (V. 1043) of Mularāja ; No. 47 (V. 1086) of Bhimadeva I, etc. * * * * Our earliest known dates, to about V. 900, are all from Eastern Rājputānā. * * * * And, speaking generally, down to about A.D. 1300 the use of the era was confined to that comparatively small portion of India which would be included by straight lines drawn from the mouth of the Narbadā to Gayā, from Gayā to Delhi, and from Delhi to the Runn of Cutch, and by the line of coast from the Runn of Cutch back to the mouth of the Narbadā. Within these limits and down to the time mentioned, the era was officially employed especially by the Chaulukya and Vāghelā princes of Anhilvād, the Paramāras of Mālava, the Chandellas of Bundelkhand, the earlier and later dynasties of Kanauj, and the chiefs of Rājputānā." (Indian Antiquary, XX, 402-404).

In the same work, Mr. Shāpūrji has hazarded a very novel theory about the date and the circumstances connected with our ancestors' landing at Sanjān. The whole question turns upon two points. What does the word *Pārasika* mean in some inscriptions relating to Vinayāditya Chālukya who ruled from Shaka 602 to Shaka 618 (689 to 696 A. C.) and in an epigraph composed in the reign of Rāna Rājamalla of Chitor in V. S. 1545 (1489 A.C.) ? The author of the 'Parsis in Ancient India' contends that it can, in both instances, have reference to no other persons than the Gujarāt Parsis.

I am very sorry to have to controvert both these assertions. I say I am very sorry because I believe nothing to be more unpleasant and unprofitable than controversies of this sort. I sincerely wish that the task had fallen to and been undertaken by some Sanskrit scholar—I do not pretend to be one—like Mr. Khareghāt or Mr. Narimān who have both written forewords to the volume. But Mr. Narimān has remained discreetly silent and Mr Khareghāt has contented himself with the expression of

a mild dissent and the hypothetical suggestion of other explanations without saying anything decisive on the point in issue.

Of the two records, I will take the later one—that dated 1545 V. S.—first. It is there said of Arisinha—the Rānā in whose time Chitor was besieged and sacked by ‘Alāu-d-dīn Khalji—that he “possessed a dauntless heart and fought with the *Pārasikas* and worshipped Shankara with the flowers of the lives of the dead.”

Mr. Shāpūrji maintains that “it would be ridiculous to urge that the words *Pārasikas* may have been used here for the Mahomedans. *The word has been used by the Sanskrit writers for the Parsis only.*” His argument is that the construction is in the instrumental case which means both ‘with or against’ and ‘by or assisted by.’ He consequently takes the verse under discussion to mean that the “Rāja did not fight *against* the Pārsis, but fought with the Mahomedans *assisted by the Pārsis.*” (p. 60).

I will presently show that *Pārasika* is employed for Muhammedans in context which precludes the possibility of any other meaning—in not one, but two inscriptions composed by the *very same individual* who declares himself to have been the author of the record of V. S. 1545, and that Mr. Shāpūrji’s novel interpretations and constructions and the inferences and conjectures founded upon them are absolutely untenable.

The inscription which is the basis of Mr. Shāpūrji’s discovery of the existence of a Parsi contingent at the memorable siege of Chitor was found in the temple of Eklingji, 14 miles North of Udaypūr. It was composed by a Dashapura Brāhman, who gives his name as Mahesha, the son of Atri (Bhāvnagar Inscriptions, p. 133, verse 96). Mr. Shāpūrji does not appear to have known that this same ‘lord of poets’ (as he styles himself) has indited two other eulogiums of Rānā Rājamalla. One of them is dated four years before, and the other fifteen years after the record under discussion. (1541 V. S. and 1561 V. S.) The find-spot of the first was Khadāvadā, a village situated in the district of Rāmpūr, now in Indore State; that of the second, Ghosundi, 4 miles N. E. of Nagari, the old capital of the Sisodiyā Rānās. The first has been edited and translated by Mr. D. R. Bhāndārkar in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1908), the second in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Kavirāj Shyāmal Dās of Udaypūr.

I will now cite the relevant portions of both these records.

Mr. Bhāndārkar writes:—

“The 18th verse informs us that Gayāsa succeeded Mahmūd to the throne. Gayāsa, or Gyāsa as he is called further on, is unquestionably Ghiyās Shāh Khalji. Verses 19-20 are a pure eulogy of Gyāsa Sāhi, *the ornament of the Pārasika race*. In the verse following, we are told that Sālaha was allowed to retain his post by Ghiyās also.

Verse 24 describes the defeat inflicted by Bahari on the Sābara kings at the city of Khidāvadā on the bank of the Charmanvati (Chambal). Khidāvadā is unquestionably Khadāvadā, where the inscription was found. Verse 25 gives no historical information, but the verse following tells us that Bahari, *lord of Pārasikas* vanquished a king named Kshemakarna at Samkhoddhara between the two banks of the river raised by Ramtideva, *i.e.*, the Chambal. * * *

The next three verses set forth the munificent nature of Bahari, and from verse 31 we learn that *Bahari, leader of Shakas*, excavated a tank in the town of Shālmalimat. * * *

From Narahari sprang Shri-Keshava, who was also known as Jhotimga. His son was Atri, who was conversant with *vedānta*, *mīmāṃsā*, and rhetoric, who was the leader of the Dashapura Brāhmana caste, and who was held in respect by the Guhila king Kumbha. His son was Shri-Mahesha, lord of poets, proficient in *darśhanas* and an able dialectician. He lived as a poet in Mālava for some time, and it was he who composed the *prashasti* engraved on the well of Bahari. All these verses (57-62) except the last, descriptive of the genealogy of Mahesha, the composer of our *prashasti*, occur with slight changes in an inscription in the celebrated temple of Eklingji, 14 miles north of Udaipur, Mewār. This record which is dated in V. E. 1545 and is consequently posterior to our inscription by four years, was also composed by Mahesha, who then, as he himself tells us therein, was a poet in the assembly of the Guhila sovereign Rājamalla. * * *

Verses 64-67 give us interesting information about the genealogy of Salaha. In Hamirpūra there was a king called Shri-Bhairava, who was the son of the Karachulli family. * * * Of King Bhairava there was one Sumedhas, who was the best Mādhyamdina Brāhmana, and who was attached to two Vedas.

From Sumedhas sprang Arthapati who elevated his Bhārgava gotra by his merits. His son was Purushottama, a devotee of Shiva, and his son was Ghudau, *who was made a pārasika*, i.e., a Muhammadan, by Kādira Sāhi. After becoming a *yavana*, Ghudau assumed the name Salaha and was made a *khān* by Mahamuda, i.e., Mahmūd Shāh I. In verse 68 is contained the other interesting fact that Salaha made Bahari a *yavana*, who was originally a Kshatriya." Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1908, Vol. xxiii, pp. 8 to 11.

Let us now examine the Ghosundi inscription of V. S. 1561.

[Verse] 3. "The pious and excellent King, Rājamalla, the son of Kumbhakarna * * is reigning at Chitrakūta, his praise being sung by numerous poets, who were made happy through his meritorious deeds, because he crushed the pride of the mighty army of the haughty prince of Mālwa. 4. King Raṇamalla, * * * was the ruler of Marusthala [Mārwar] * * * 5. On his gaining the membership of the assembly of the immortals, [i.e., death], forthwith his valiant son, Yodhā, who had cut off the *Pathān* race of the *Persians* [*Pārasika*] with the edge of his sword, bore the burden of the land * * * 7. What did he not offer in fire on the sacrificial ground to the gods, what did he not give away to the Brāhmans on the charity ground; what Persian [*Pārasika*] did he not defeat in battle, and what deed of fame was not accomplished by King Yodhā!"

We are then informed (Verses 8-20) that King Yodhā of Mārwar had a daughter named Shringāra Devi and that she was married to Rājamalla of Chitor and that it was she who "dug the tank" in which the inscription has been found. In verse 26, it is explicitly stated that "the same poet Mahesha, [the son of Atri, the son of Jotinga Keshava, verse 25] who composed the inscription in the temple of Eklingji and of that on the tower of Victory, is the author of this."—Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1887, Vol. LVI, pp. 82-4.

In the first of these epigraphs we are told that Gyāsa Sāhi¹ [Sultan Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Khalji] of Mālwa was 'the ornament of the Pārasika race.' We are next informed that Bahari who is called 'leader of Shakas,' and also 'lord of Pārasikas,

¹ This 'Gyāsa Sāhi' is mentioned also in the Inscription cited by Mr. Shāpūrji as *Gyāsashakeshvara*, 'Gyāsa, Lord of the Shakas,' Bhāvnagar Inscriptions, p. 130, *Shloka* 68.

vanquished a [Hindū] king named Kshemakarna.¹ Lastly, we learn that Bahari was originally a Kshatriya, but that he was made a 'Yavana' by the Mālwa Amir, Sālaha [صلاح الدين or صلاح], who had himself been a Mādhyamdina Brāhman named Ghudau, who was made a 'Pārasika' or Muhammadan by and subsequently received the title of Khān from Sultan Mahmūd Shah Khalji I.

So far the first inscription. In the second, the writer declares that King Yodhā—the ruler of Mārwar, after whom Jodhpūr, its present capital, is named—cut off the "Paṭhān race of the Pārasikas with the edge of his sword," and exclaims, 'what Pārasika did he not defeat in battle and what deed of fame did he not accomplish?' Were "the Pathān Pārasikas" whose race was cut off by the Rāthor prince, and Baharī 'the leader of Shakas' who was also 'lord of Pārasikas,' and Sālih who was made a *Pārasika* and a Khān by Mahmūd I, descendants of the Zoroastrians who had found refuge on the Gujarāt coast? If they were not, this new story of the 'Pārsi contingent' which fought side by side with the heroes of Chitor against the host of the 'Bloody' 'Alāu-d-dīn, must be abandoned in spite of its flattering our vanity, and making a strong appeal to national pride.

Well might any one exclaim, 'Is it possible to have anything more convincing or decisive'? Here we have two other inscriptions written by the very same man, for the very same King, in which the word 'Pārasika' is used, not once or twice but five times, and that in such a way that no other significance than that of 'Mahomedans' is conceivable.

This not only settles the question as to the meaning of 'Pārasika' in the Eklingji inscription beyond doubt or cavil, but proves conclusively that the word is not "used by Sanskrit writers for Parsis only," as Mr. Shāpūrji seeks to maintain (p. 60).

As regards the signification of the word in connection with the conquests of Vinayāditya Chālukya, I may be permitted to draw attention to the fact that *Pārasika* occurs in similar association with the victorious career of Kulottunga—Chola I (otherwise called Rājendra Chola-deva II (Smith, Early History of India, 346) who ascended the throne about 1070 A.C. The

¹ This person is also mentioned in the Inscription of V. S. 1545, as the 'King named Kshema' and as having been defeated by Rānā Rājamalla in "the battle of Dādimpura." *Shloka* 64, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

record was first published by Dr. Hultzsch in his 'South Indian Inscriptions' (Madras, 1890, I, pp. 168-9) and there is a revised transcript and translation in the *Epigraphia Indica* also. (Vol. V., 103-4). It is engraved on a wall in the great temple at Chidambaram in South Arcot district. It "eulogises the victories of the king over the five Pandyas" and states that he burnt the fort of Korgāra which Dr. Hultzsch identifies with Korkai in Tinnevely district (South Indian Inscriptions, I, 168). He is also said to have crushed the dense army of the Keralas and to have erected a pillar in commemoration of his victories on "the holy peak of the Sahyādrī mountain." It is further said of this king that his fame was spontaneously sung by "the young women of the Persians" (*Pārsi*). Dr. Hultzsch says in a note that "the composer of the inscription mentions the Persians (* * Sanskrit पारसिक) merely as the representatives of the most distant nations which were known to him." (South Indian Inscriptions, I, p., 169, Note 2.) Whether this interpretation of the word is correct or not, whether the reference is or is not a mere rhetorical flourish or hyperbolical metaphor, does not concern us here. It is sufficient for us to know that it cannot possibly stand here for the Zoroastrians of Western India. The capital of the Cholas was at Tānjore (Smith, *loc. cit.*, 345). Korkai which Kullotunga is said to have sacked and burnt was the old capital of the Pandyas (*Ibid*, 335) in Tinnevely district. Chidambaram itself, the find-spot of the record is in Arcot. All these places are in the extreme south and the Keralas, who are spoken of, had their ancient seat at Vanji or Karūr, which is situated close to Cranganore (Lat. 10°-14'; Long. 76°-16'). Smith, *ib.*, 340.

I append below Dr. Hultzsch's second and revised translation of the inscription. We read:

"This Grantha inscription has been already published in South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I., p. 168 f. As stated on a subsequent occasion, the conquests recorded in it prove that it was incised in the time of Kulottunga-Cholā I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1070.

Translation.

'Hail! Prosperity! (Verse 1.) Having subdued the five Pandyas by an army which discharged numerous arrows, having burnt like straw the fort of Kottāra, just as (Arjuna) the son of Pandu (had burnt) the Khandava (forest), (and) having crushed that extremely dense army of the Keralas,—that glorious Kulottunga-Cholā, who resembles a lion in majesty, (and) Shakra

(Indra) in valour, placed on the shore of the ocean a pillar (commemorative of his conquest of the three worlds.)

(V. 2.) Having subdued the five Pandyas by masses of powerful armies, that glorious Kulottunga-Cholā, who has scattered (his) enemies (and) whose fame is spontaneously sung on the further shore of the ocean by *the young women of the Persians* (*Pārsi*), duly placed on the holy peak of the Sahyādrī (mountain) a pillar (which commemorates his) conquest of the three worlds (and) before which the crowd of kings is trembling.¹” *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, pages 103 & 104.

I have in the course of these inquiries, come across these ‘Pārasikas’ in two other passages also in contexts which preclude the possibility of our accepting the novel interpretation of Mr. Shāpūrjī. In an inscription of another Chālukya ruler, Someshvar II, dated Shaka 991 (A.C. 1069), there is a “verse lauding his prowess and his dominion over the kings of the Cholas, Varālas, Lālas [Lātas ?] Khasas, Māgadhas, Keralas, *Pārasikas*, Nēpālas and Turushkas.” (L. D. Barnett, *Epigraphia Indica*, XV. 94). It is needless to say that these conquests of the “Khasas, Māgadhas, Nēpālas and Turushkas” are not veridical history but poetical bombast, and that these kings of the *Pārasikas*, whoever they might have been, could have had nothing whatever to do with the Zoroastrian refugees settled in Western India.

The other reference is to be found in the ‘Gaudavaho’ of Vākpatirāja—an epic poem written in Mahārāshtri Prākṛit by a contemporary poet in honour of his patron Yashovarman of Kanauj, who reigned from *circa* 675 to 700 A.C. After invading the territories of the Gauda King, and defeating and killing him in battle, Yashovarman is said to have undertaken a *digvijaya*, an expedition for world-conquest. We are informed that he first conquered the king of Vanga [Eastern Bengal] and then moved along the sea coast as far as the *Malaya* mountains, and reduced the *Pārasikas* to subjection. From the country of these *Pārasikas*, he proceeded to the Southernmost point where the Eastern and Western Oceans meet [Cape Comorin or Kanyā Kumārī]. He then marched back northwards, and arrived at the spot where the Narmadā falls into the Sea. Hence he carried his victorious arms into Marūdesha, Thāneshvar, Ayodhyā and the Mandara mountain in the Himālayas. (S. P. Pandit’s *Elit.* in the Bombay Sanskrit series, *Introd. passim.*) This *digvijaya*

¹ *Punye Samhyādrī-shringē tribhuvana-vijaya-stambham—ambhodhipare sūachchhandam Pārasinān—taruṇa-yuvatibhir—ggyatē yasya kirtitih.*

has been regarded by the majority of critics as a poetical *tour de force*, but supposing it to have had any foundation in fact, it is worthy of note that here also as in the epigraphic records of Kulottunga Cholā and Someshvar Chālukya, the *Pārasīkas* are located somewhere near the Keralas and Malaya mountain, i. e. the Western Ghats near Tellichery: (Nundolāl Dey, Dictionary of Indian Geography s. n)—somewhere in the very distant South. This almost settles the matter. Whoever may be meant by the *Pārasīkas*, of Vinayāditya, it is clear that any identification of them with the Parsi 'pilgrim fathers' is beyond the bounds of reason and probability.

But this does not conclude the evidence against the supposition that the word 'Pārasīka' is invariably "used by the Sanskrit writers for Parsis only" (Parsis in Ancient India, 60). It would appear from the *Sāhityaratnākara*, a Sanskrit work of repute written in Southern India in the 17th Century, that the word is also employed for the Dutch! Mr. T. A. Gopinātha Rāo has edited in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. XII., 1913-14, pp. 343-4) an inscription of Sevāppā Nāyak of Tānjore, of whose son and heir Achyutāppā Nāyak it is said that he repulsed and drove away the Dutch, [पारसिनान् in the original], who tried to land at Negāpatam in order to found a trading factory.¹

In these circumstances, I leave it to Mr. Shāpūrji himself to say if the "young women" of the 'Pārasīkas' who of their own free will sang songs in praise of Kulottunga's victories over the Keralas and Pandyas were females belonging the Parsi community of Western India. I leave it to himself to decide if this allusion to the 'Pārasīkas' is not an empty vaunt, a poetical boast in the usual style of the Kāvya, a mere figment of the poetaster's imagination. And if that is the true character of this allusion, we may well ask ourselves if the similar reference to "the Kaveras, the Pārasīkas and the Kings of Sinhala and other islands" paying tribute to Vinayāditya, about 694 A. C. may not belong to the same category of bombastic eulogy.

¹ ते नागपट्टण गतेन मया निरस्ताः पूर्वं समेत्य पुरमस्य समुद्रलेयम् । नेपाल-
भूविभुमतो निरकासयामि मङ्गल्यमि तत्पुनरहं युधि पारसीकान् ॥ *Sāhityaratnā-
kara*, VI, 68. Note.

The Arivilimangalam Plates of Srirangarāya II., Saka-Samvat 1499; By T. A. Gopinātha Rāo, M.A., Trivandrum, and T. S. Kuppusvām Sāstri, Tānjore. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, 1913-14, P. 343-44.

Such exaggeration and fanfaronnade is by no means uncommon in Hindu Chronicles and even in inscriptions. For the benefit of those Parsi writers who are wont to interpret *literally*, the hyperbolical expressions in Hindu records, I will quote a few instances, which are all taken from a single work—Fleet's 'Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency.'

In an inscription of Samudragupta, that ruler is said to have captured and then released all the Kings of the Dekkan, including those of Kosala, Mahākantāra, Kerala, Kottūra, Erandapalla etc. (Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 12-3), upon which this learned archæologist remarks that "the statement need not be accepted literally, especially as it seems almost certain that the Gupta dominions were bounded on the south by the Narmadā." (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Pt. ii. 280).

Similarly, it is asserted of the Western Chālukya ruler Kirtivarman I—the great grand-father of this very Vinayāditya [567-597 A.C.]—that he conquered the hostile kings of Vanga [Eastern Bengal], Anga [Western Bengal], Kalinga, Vallūra, Magadha, Madraka, Kerāla, Ganga, Mūshaka, Pandya, Dramila, Choliya (*i.e.*, Chola), Aluka and Vaijyanti," in connection with which Dr. Fleet is obliged to declare that many of these territories lay so far away to the North and East, that the claim that is made in respect of them is plainly only a *mere boast*." (*Ibid.* 345-6, also 281). Again, Dr. Fleet gives his readers to understand that when it is said in an inscription from Sirūr that "worship was done to the Rashtrakuta Amoghavarsha I [815-876 A.C.], by the Kings of Anga, Vanga, Magadha, Mālava and Vengi, the "assertion is *doubtless hyperbolical*." (*Ibid.* 402).

In some of the later records of the Western Chālukya Taila II' [973-997 A.C.], it is stated that he overcame the Kings of Chedi, the Utkālas or people of Orissa, and the Kings of Chola and even Nepāla, in regard to which Dr. Fleet observes that "the alleged conquest of Nepāla is of course *an invention of the poets*, and probably the statements about the Chedi, the Cholas and Orissa are *no more substantial*." (*Ibid.* 431).

And he candidly opines that some of the successes attributed to Vishnuvardhana Hoysala [1117-1157 A.C.] in his inscriptions are undoubtedly, *fictional* or *hyperbolical*, and that it is impossible that he could have burnt and destroyed Chakragotta in Mālwa, or conquered the Lāta province in Gujarāt or captured Kānchi as he is said to have done (*Ibid.* 497).

And in another place, he draws the attention of his readers to one of the records of the Yādava ruler Singhana [1210-A. C.] which *claims hyperbolically* that he enforced obedience to his commands from the Kings of Mālava, Chera, Chola, and Magadha, the Gurjaras, and the Pāndyas, the people of Lāla (*i.e.*, Lāta) and Nepāl, the Turashkas, (*i.e.*, the Musalmans), the Barbarigas, the Keralas and the Pallavas, and the rulers of Anga, Vengi, Panchāla, Kalinga and Sind." (*Ibid.* 525). Surely, this is not a record of real conquests, but a mere catalogue of names known to the panegyrist, a foolish and illusory display of geographical knowledge (?) on the part of the composer of the epigraph.¹

And even if it is granted that this statement about the *Pārasīkas* and Sinhala*s i.e.*, people of Ceylon, having paid tribute to Vinayāditya is not a "mere boast" or illustration of the fondness of Sanskrit authors for "hyperbolic expressions," we have to remember that 'Pārasīka' is used very loosely by Hindu writers in books as well as inscriptions. I have shown that it is applied to the Musalman invaders of this country, and even to the Dutch. It would seem as if it was employed for all sorts of foreigners or persons of alien (*i.e.* non-Hindu) descent. We know that the word 'Yavana' is used with similar indiscrimina- tion for Bactrian Greeks, Alexandrian Greeks, Romans of the Empire, Arabs, Persians, Paṭhāns, Turks and even Europeans.²

1 It would not be difficult to give any number of instances from other sources. I will give here only three. The author of the *Dvyāshraya* (Hemachandra) says of the Gujarāt Chālukya King Durlabha, (the grandson of Mularāja), that he attended the Svyamvara, or bridegroom-choosing of Durlabhadevi the sister of Mahendra, the Rājā of Nādol in Mārwar and that the Kings of Anga, [Western Bengal], Kāshi, Avanti, Chedi, Kuru, Huna, Mathurā, Vindhya and Āndhra were also present (*Op. cit.* Sarga vii. Shl. 97-105). Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indraji has cited the passage in his history of Gujarāt, and opined that "this Svyamvara and the list of attendant and rival Kings seem *imaginary*" (Bombay Gazetteer, I. i. 163 and note)

Dr. Bhāndārkar also observes that "Sanskrit authors often indulge in hyperbolic expressions without sufficient basis and as mere conventionalities" and cites a contemporary record in which the later Chālukya sovereign Someshvara III (1127-1138 A.C.) is "represented to have placed his feet on the heads of the Kings of Āndhra, Dravila, Magadha and Nepāla." (Bom. Gaz. I. ii. 220-1). Dr. L. D. Barnett says that the Chālukya Someshvara I claims in one of his inscriptions, to have rooted out the Angas, Vangas, Khasas, Vengi, the Pāndyas, Saurāshtras, Keralas, Nepālas, Turushkas, Cheras and Magadhas, and this long list of conquests is in "some of its details *more epic than historical.*" *Epigraphia Indica*. XV. 86 and note.

2 Monier Williams says: "यवन," an Ionian, a Greek . . . ; a King of the Greeks; a Muhaminadan (Sometimes applied to both the

In the same way, the Hunas and other Scythian invaders are called 'Shaka,' but the identical designation is associated with the Afghān, Turk, Mughal and other Musalman conquerors of India. Again, all Muhammadans whatever, whether Persians, Arabs, or Turks or individuals of Indian birth converted to Islām are huddled together under the common appellation of *Turashkas*,¹ and lastly, Yavanas, Shakas and Turashkas are all generally branded with the opprobrious epithet *Mlechchas*.²

It will perhaps make it easier for the reader to get a clear view of the truth in regard to this matter, if I restate the points made above :

1. The supposition that the word *Pārasika* is invariably used by the Sanskrit writers for 'the Parsis of Western India' is absolutely unwarranted.

2. It is repeatedly applied by the writer of the very inscription cited by Mr. Shāpūrji to Sultān Ghyās-u-d-din Khalji of Mālwa and Musalmāns in general.

3. In the *Sāhitya-Ratnākāra*, it is employed for the Dutch.

4. In the opinion of Dr. Hultzsch, the *Pārasikas* are mentioned in the record of Kulottunga Chola Deva in the temple of Chidambaram, as "representatives of the most distant nations which were known" to the composer of the record.

5. In view of the fact that Sanskrit writers betray gross ignorance in regard to the real meaning of such ethnological denominations as *Yavanas*, *Turashkas*, *Shakas*, it is extremely hazardous to assert that the *Pārasikas* who are said to have paid tribute to Vinayāditya at some time between 616 and 618 *Shaka* (694 and 696 A.C.) were the Zoroastrian refugees who are supposed to have landed in Sanjān in 772 V. S. (716 A.C.).

6. The fact that the other tribes mentioned are the *Kaveras* (or *Keralas*) and *Simhalas* and that the *Pārasikas* of the

Muhammadan and European invaders of India as coming from the same quarter); any foreigner; a barbarian generally (Manu, X, 44); the country of the Yavanas, sometimes applied to Bactria, Ionia, Greece and more recently to Arabia." Sanskrit-English Dictionary s. v.

¹ तुश्क, "Name of a race, the Indo-Scythian race or Turks": Monier Williams, s. v.

² म्लेच्छ, "A foreigner, barbarian, non-Arian, man of an outcast race (a generic term for a person speaking any language but Sanskrit and not conforming to the usual Hindu institutions." Monier Williams s. v.

'Gaudavaho' and the inscription of Kullotunga-Chola are located 'near the Malaya Mountain' and on the 'further shore of the ocean' makes it probable that the *Pūrasikas* mentioned by the panegyrist of Vinayāditya were the Nestorian Christians of Malabār who are believed to have come from *Persia*, or some other foreign emigrants who had settled, not on the Western Coast, near Bombay, but in the extreme South of the Peninsula.

7. The total absence of any reference in the Chronicles of Ceylon to the conquest of that island at this time by a ruler whose capital was at Badāmi in Bijāpūr and the inherent improbability of any such conquest inspire a suspicion that the allusion is partly, if not entirely, unhistorical, and incline one to seriously consider the possibility of its being an unreal display of the geographical learning of the composer or of his dexterity in hyperbolical laudation.

LECTURE V.

THE DATES OF HORMAZDYĀR RĀMYĀR AND NERYOSANG DHAVAL.

One of the most interesting and also most knotty problems of Parsi History is that connected with the determination of the dates of Neryosang Dhaval and Hormazdyār Rāmyār. In his paper on the 'Present State of Zend Philology,' (1868), Dr. Haug had expressed the opinion that Neryosang flourished in the 15th Century of Christ (Journal, B. B. R. A. Society. XVI. 85, Note). In 1885,¹ Dr. West took the same view, but six years later, he was inclined to place him much earlier—in the latter part of the 12th and beginning of the 13th Century. Unfortunately, this conclusion was founded chiefly on the 'Genealogy of the Dasturs of Broach' published by Mr. Ardeshir S. Dastur Kāmdin in 1889 (West's Letter to Dr. J. J. Mody in *Irāni Vishayo*. III. 199-200). Accepting in good faith the statements of that pedigree, he reckoned 9 generations² between Hormazdyār, and Peshotan Rām Kāmdin, and 19 others between Peshotan and the compiler of the pedigree who was born in 1838 A.C. He further *took it for granted* that Neryosang and Hormazdyār were first cousins—grandsons of a Shāpūr Shahriār—as stated in that Genealogy. For determining the length of a generation, he took as his basis the assertion that nineteen generations and 456 years had intervened between the birth of Mr. Ardeshir (1838 A.C.) and that of Peshotan, which he supposed to have taken place in 1382 A.C.—on the ground that his father Rām must have been at least 52 years old in 1410 A.C., the year in which he wrote the Sanskrit *Ardā Virāf* Manuscript. Now $456 \div 19$ yields 24, and so the average duration of a generation was fixed by him at only 24 years.³

¹ In the Introduction to his Translation of the *Dinā-i-Mainoq-i-Khirad* he speaks of Neryosang as "a Parsi priest who is supposed to have lived some time in the fifteenth Century." Pahlavi Texts. III. Sacred Books of the East. XXIV. Introd. p. xx.

² There are really only 8 according to West's own reading and interpretation of Peshotan's Kolophon to the *Gosht-i-Fryāno*, (Hoshangji and Haug, Book of Ardā Virāf, p. 246), but Mr. Ardeshir had made them 9 by interpolating the name *Mobed* after *Buhrām* and West appears to have inadvertently accepted the interpolation.

³ If the great Pahlavisant had taken the names between Ardeshir and Padam (Rāmyār), he would have arrived at a very different result. There are only ten generations between Padam who could not have been born much later than 1510 A. C. and Mr. Ardeshir who gives his own birth date as 1838 A.C. This would give 32·8 years as the mean length of a generation in the Broach Dastur family.

Unluckily, almost all the asseverations on which Dr. West relied are found, on examination, to be demonstrably erroneous. It is not generally known—and neither Dr. West nor his informant (Dr.) Jivanji appears to have been aware of the fact—that there are *two* editions of this Genealogy, the first of which was published in 1878, and the second, eleven years later—1889 A.C. The discrepancies between these two recensions are so glaring and the subsequent interpolations so obvious even to a superficial reader—that it is impossible not to be surprised at the credence attached to this ‘family tree’ by them as well as other Parsi scholars.

The ground-work or foundation of the entire fabric of the pedigree in the first edition was a statement in the hand-writing of Mullā Kāus Rustam Jalāl—the father of Mullā Firūz—which had been transcribed by Kāūs in 1787 A.C. on the fly-leaf of an Avestā-Pahlavi MS. found by Mr. Ardeshir in the library of Dastur Sohrābji Rustamji Mullā Firūz.

This statement is as follows and occurs at pp. 5-6 of this First Edition.

ક્રમતરીન ખાકસાર કાઉસના બાપ તથા વડવાઓનાં નામો.

કાઉસ એબને બેહેશ્ત બેહેરે મોબેદ્ રસતમ એબને શાહપુર એબને એબદીઆર એબને કાઉસ એબને હિંદુસ્તાનના વડા દસ્તુર કામદીન એબને દસ્તુર ફનદામ (જેને પદમ કરીનેબી કહે છે) એબને મોબેદાન મોબેદ્, સધલા મોબેદો અને હેરબદોના ઉસ્તાદ અને હિંદુસ્તાનના તમામ મોબેદોને ઉરવીસગાહને લગતું કામ શિખવનાર અને આ (હિંદુસ્તાન) સરજમીનનાં દરેક શેહરમાં મોબેદીનાં કામને રેવાજ આપનાર, ઉસ્તાદે ખુન્નેરગવાંર નામદાર ઉસ્તાદ રામીઆર એબને હેરબદ્ કહાનાન એબને હેરબદ્ આદરબાદ એબને હેરબદ્ નેહાર એબને હેરબદ્ સુદેહ એબને હેરબદ્ મોબેદાન મોબેદ હોરમજદીઆર એબને હેરબદ્ રામીઆર એબને પેશોતન શેહઅરવંદી. હીઆં સુધીના નિયાગાતોનાં નામો હિંદી જબાનમાં લખાયલાં બારમાસીઆના દફતરમાં બહાર છે, જેમાં તેઓના ગુજરવાના રોજ તથા માહ દાખલ કીધેલા છે. પણ શેવટે જે શેહઅરવંદી નામ લખેલું છે, તે વીશે માલુમ નથી કે એ પેશોતનના બાપતું નામ છે કે કાઈ શેહરતું નામ છે, કે જે શેહરનો એ પેશોતન રેહવાસી હોય. ¹

¹ A very similar statement will be found in the *Parsi Prakāsh* (p. 60, note 2) which was published eleven years earlier (1867). Mr. Bahmanji

The purport of this entry stating what Mullā Kāus knew or *rather remembered* of his own ancestry comes to this :

Kāus-Rustam -Shāpūr -Yazdiār -Kāus -Kāmdin -Fandām (or Padam)-Rāmyār -Kāhnān -Ādarbād -Nehār-Sūdeh -Hormazdyār -Rāmyār -Peshotan Shahrivandī (*sic*).

Now, as the common ancestor of Mr. Ardeshir and Mullā Kāus was Dastur Kāmdin Padam, we have the following pedigree for the compiler :—

Ardeshir-Sohrāb -Peshotan -Aspandiār -Kāmdin -Faredūn -Jamshed -Kāmdin -Faredūn -Kāmdin -Padam -Rāmyār -Kāhnān -Ādarbād -Nehār -Sūdeh -Hormazdyār -Rāmyār -Peshotan Shahrivandī.

It will be seen that there are here only fourteen generations between Mullā Kāus and Hormazdyār Rāmyār's grandfather, Peshotan Shahrivandī and eighteen only between Mr. Ardeshir and that worthy.

Now let us see how the same pedigree stands in the Second Edition, which alone appears to have been known to Drs. West and Jivanji. It would seem that at some time between 1878 and 1889, the attention of the compiler had been drawn to the existence in Haug and Hoshangji's edition of the 'Ardā Virāf Nāmak' (pub. 1872) of the pedigree of Peshotan Rām Kāmdin, of whom he had known nothing in 1878. He at once adopted Peshotan as his ancestor and appropriated the former's forebears as his own. But in doing so, he unluckily overlooked the Pahlavi original and followed the English translation in which three names, *Shahrīār*, *Neryosang* and *Shahmard* (or Gayomard) had been inadvertently omitted by the printer. At the same time, and as if to redress the balance, three other names—Rāmyār, Hormazdyār and Rāmyār—were inserted after that of Sūdeh. The result was that there were now 21 generations

Patell also had seen the Manuscript and I do not quote his words, only because he has given the purport of the entry in almost identical terms. 'Shahrivandī,' [Recte, *Suhravardī*] is not the name of any *person*. It is very probably derived from 'Suhraṣard,' a city in Khurāsān. The writings of two mystics both named Shihābū-d-dīn Suhravardī are well-known to students of Sūfī theology. One of them was the master of the poet S'adi and there is a story about him in the *Būstān*. The other was a Theosophist and Thaumaturgist who was put to death at Aleppo by Saladin's son in 587 A. H. (1191 A. C.) Browne, *Literary History of Persia*. II. 496.

instead of 12 between Mullā Kāus and Hormazdyār Rāmyār.¹ Simultaneously, Peshotan Shahrivandi was discarded and Mobed Shāpūr Shahriār installed in his stead as the primeval ancestor of all the Indian Athornāns and the root of their genealogical tree. And as the number of generations between the Mullā and Hormazdyār had risen from 12 to 21, so the aggregate number of those intervening between Hormazdyār and Mr. Ardeshir mounted up to 25. Thus :

Ardeshir -Sohrāb -Peshotan -Aspandiār -Kāmdin -Faredūn-Jamshed -Kāmdin -Faredūn -Kāmdin -Padam -Rāmyār-Kāhnān- Ādarbād -Nehār -Sūdeh -Rāmyār -Homazdyār-Rāmyār -Peshotan -Rām -Kāmdin -Shahriār -Bahrām -Movad-Hormazdyār -Rāmyār -Shāpūr -Shahriār.

It will be seen that *nine new names* have been added, and that the total number of names contained in the first Edition—which was nineteen, has now soared up to twenty-eight, or twenty-nine—if that of Shahriār-Shāpūr's father—is also reckoned. Indeed the compiler informed his readers that the genealogy comprised not 29 but 30 *Pehdis*, (as some of those living had already become the fathers of children whose names were left unmentioned); and this confusion was only made worse by Dr. West's addition of the three names—Shahriār-Neryosang-Shāhmard—which were *supposed* by him to have been omitted. I say the confusion was aggravated—because the total number of names thus rose, still further, from thirty to thirty-three, and all for nothing, in as much as this addition—as I will presently show—was quite superfluous. The *three names were already there* in disguise, the fact being that Nehār and Sūdeh are only Hinduised perversions or abbreviations of Neryosang and Shāhmard, which latter name is also written 'Samand'. Another name, Ādarbad seems to be due to an old copyists' error or traditional mislection of *Shatro-aiyyār* as written in Peshotan Rām's Pahlavi Kolophon. It will be also noticed that the number of *Pehdis* is swelled out by converting 'Mobed', which is, according Haug's interpretation of the Kolophon, the epithet of Hormazdyār, into a proper name. Hormazdyār is thus given a son whose name does not occur in the postscript of Peshotan Rām himself and whose existence is ignored in the Kolophons of other Broach and Navsāri scribes also.

¹ One other name of which there is no trace in the First Edition. *viz.* Mobed was interjected between 'Bahrām' and 'Hormazdyār' in the Second.

In a word, it would seem that the only reliable part of the pedigree is confined to the names from Ardeshir to Kāhnān. Then there is a gap and there is nothing whatever to show how Kāhnān, the grandfather of Padam Rām was related to Peshotan. The total omission of the names of Peshotan himself and of his father and grandfather in *the original pedigree given by Mullā Kāus* would appear to militate against any direct connection. On the other hand, the survival in the popular memory of the names of Ādarbād, Nehār and Sūdeh. (i.e., Shatroyār, Neryosang, Shahmard or Samand—the great-grand-father of Peshotan and of *his* father and grandfather) points in the opposite direction and seems to indicate that Kāhnān and Peshotan had a common, though very remote, ancestor in Neryosang Shahmard—if not in the somewhat ambiguous ‘Ādarbād’ of the genealogy and ‘Shatroyār’ of the Kolophon.

It is clear then that this ‘*Bharuch-nā Dastur Khāndānni Vanshāvali*’ has proved to be a broken reed and that its middle or intervening period stands in need of a thorough revision with the assistance of older and more reliable forces of information. I say, ‘middle or intervening period’ because it is not improbable that Kāhnān and Peshotan *had* a common ancestor somewhere, and the names between Peshotan and Hormazdyār may, in consideration of the great age of the Manuscript in which they occur, be accepted as correct. And the same thing may be predicated of the names from Ardeshir (born in 1838 A.C.) to Kāus (died 1783 A.C.) and from Kāus to Rām Kāhnān (lived *circa* 1516 A.C.). In other words, the lower portions of the trunk of the genealogical tree are sound. They are, so to say, of modern growth and relate to persons who lived in comparatively recent times and whose dates can be easily ascertained from the Persian Revāyets and other documents. But there is a gulf between Kāhnān and Peshotan which requires to be bridged and it is certain that the *Vanshāvali* is wrong in making Peshotan the *seventh* ancestor of Kāhnān. We know that Padam Rām was alive in 1559 A.C. and the name of his father Ustād Rām Kāhnān occurs in Jāsā’s Revāyet of 1516 A.C. (Studies in Parsi History, p. 290). If Rām was 40 or even 30 years old at the time, he must have been born in 1476 or 1486, and supposing Kāhnān to have become a father at the early age of 20, there would be only 74 or 84 years between the birth of Kāhnān in 1456 or 1466 and that of Peshotan, whom West supposes, on fairly good grounds to have been very young—about fifteen—in 1397 A.C.

1456—(1397—15) or 1382=74.

1466—(1397—15) or 1382=84.

Now, seven generations in 74 or 84 years would yield a preposterously low average for the duration of a generation and these names must be therefore rejected.¹

The fact of the matter is that the eleven or twelve names after that of Kāhnān are all founded on error or gratuitous conjecture. Ādarbād, Nehār and Sūdeh—otherwise Shatroiyār, Neryosang—Samand (or Shahmard)—were not the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of Kāhnān, who must have flourished towards the end of the 15th century, but stood in the identical relation to Kāmdin Shatroiyār or (Shahriār), the grand father of Peshotan, who lived about a hundred years before. In other words, these three names have been displaced or shifted from their true position. That position is correctly indicated by the Kolophon of Peshotan Rām Kāmdin, which shows, besides, that the dislocation is due to the similarity of the names. It would appear from some old Kolophons that Padam is a familiar form of Peshotan² and Kāhnān [Kāmān, Kāmā] a Hinduised *alias* of Kāmdin. The confusion is thus accounted for. It has sprung from a palpable error, and the interpolation of the names of Rāmyār, Hormazdyār, Rāmyār, is as obviously founded on nothing but conjecture.

Lastly, there is no evidence except that of a very recent popular tradition for the assumption that Neryosang and Hormazdyār were first cousins—or even for believing that they were descended from one and the same person. In the absence of any proof whatever of such a relationship, the genealogy of the Branch Dastūrs published by Mr. Ardeshir can have little or no direct bearing on the question of the date of Neryosang, whatever utility it may possess for determining that of *their* own ancestor, Hormazdyār himself.

¹ The result will be the same if we leave Kāhnān alone and adopt another gauge. The Branch Genealogy makes out nine generations between Peshotan and Padam Rām. Now if Padam was sixty or fifty in 1559 A.C., the year in which Kāmdin Shāpūr brought the important Revāyet addressed to him, he must have been born about 1499, or 1509, so that there are only 117 (1499–1382) or 127 years, (1509–1382) to cover nine generations.

² The name of Aspandiār *Padam* is also given as Aspandiār *Peshotan* in a manuscript containing the *Jāmāspī* and some portions of a Revāyet belonging to Ērvad Māhiār Navroji Kutār, and registered by Mr. N. B. Desāi. Report on Kolophons, p. 86.

Dr. Jivanji Mody has attempted to solve the problem of Neryosang's date in another way. Adopting, as the bases of his calculations, three popular statements of more or less questionable authenticity, *viz.*, the traditional date of the first settlement of Mobed Kāmdin Zartosht in Navsāri, (511 A.Y. or 1142 A.C.), the year of the migration of Hom and his son Faredūn from Sanjān (1271 V.S. or 1215 A.C.) and the pedigree of Rustam Mānak given in the Family Genealogy published by Mr. Jālbhāi Ardeshtir Sheth,—he has arrived at three different dates for Neryosang, *viz.*, 1072, 1040 and 1215 A.C. I submit that the authenticity of these data themselves is not beyond dispute. The first of them is derived from a partition-deed of the property of the descendants of Dastur Mihrji Rānā who died in 1591 A.C. (Pārsi Prakāsh I, p. 9) and is really a mere *obiter dictum* or incidental assertion made in a document indited more than four, perhaps five, hundred years after the event supposed to be recorded in it. The second and third statements are borrowed from the *fihrist* or genealogy of the Sanjānā Athornāns, which has been never published, and of which the oldest copy extant is said to have been written up in 1158 A.Y. (1789 A.C.).

In these circumstances, it may be permissible to re-examine the whole matter, rejecting, as far as possible, all second-hand statements or assumptions founded on popular tradition and adopting only such 'contemporary documents' as are available, for the basis of our investigation.

Where then are these 'contemporary documents' to be found and in what direction should we look for assistance in discovering the truth? Dr. West has justly said that "there can be no better authority for early dates than the Kolophons of old Manuscripts." (*loc. cit.* p. 199 Note). Now we possess several Copies of Avesta-Pahlavi Texts etc. in which the scribes trace their own descent upto Hormazdyār or upto Neryosang. The *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali*, the *Sanjānā Fihrist*, the Nāvar-Registers of the *Vaḍi Dar-e-meher* of Navsāri and old *Disāpothis* and *Nām-grahans*, provide collateral sources of information possessing various degrees of utility and merit. And the Persian Revāyets contain valuable materials for testing and verifying the assertions made in the Kolophons, *Vanshāvalis* and *Fihrists*. I beg permission to exhibit some Kolophons in which the writers have given their own pedigrees. They have been arranged in parallel columns, with a view to facilitate comparison.

But before we can proceed with the inquiry and deduce any conclusion from these approximately correct, if not quite

certain, data, it is necessary to determine the question, 'What is the duration of a generation?' The writer of the article on the subject in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says that "the word is used for the offspring of the same parents taken as one degree in descent from a common ancestor, or more widely, of the body of living persons born at or near the same time; thus the word is also used of the age or period of a generation, usually taken as about thirty years or three generations to a century." And in the monumental English Dictionary compiled by Drs. Murray and Bradley, we are told that "in reckoning historically by generations, the word is taken to mean the interval of time between the birth of the parents and that of their children, usually computed at thirty years or three generations to a century."¹

We have seen that Dr. West has reckoned only 24 years to a generation, but this is obviously too low. Here again, he was misled by the supposed "facts" embodied in the *Broach Van-shāvali*. Dr. Jivanji Mody has sometimes adopted twenty-five and at others twenty-eight years as the equivalent (*Irāni Vishayo*, Pt. III, 198, 200).² It appears necessary therefore to fix the average length of a generation inductively, i.e., from an examination of the histories of well-known Zoroastrian families.

I will take the Dasturs of Navsāri first. The pedigree of the present successor of Mihrji Rānā is as follows :—

Kaiqubād — Dārābji — Māhiārji — Kaiqubādji — Rustamji — Naushirvānji — Sohrābji — Rustamji — Mānekji — Mihrnūshji — Kaiqubādji — Mihrji — Rānā.

¹ An older writer of some note says : "A generation is the interval of time elapsed between the births of the father and of his son. The interval therefore is variable : (1) according to the standard of human life ; and (2) according as the generations are counted by eldest, middle or youngest sons. Dividing human life into three stages, or climacterics, the generative faculty is generally found to subsist in its vigour during the second stage, or between 21 years and 42 years, at the present lowest reduction of the standard ; whence 33 years has been usually adopted in all countries, as the mean length of a generation ; or three generations reckoned equivalent to a century. This was the computation of the Egyptians and Greeks, according to Herodotus B. 2. And the Hindus also allowed a hundred years for three generations, according to Sir William Jones, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II., p. 136 (Octavo)." W. Hailes, A New Analysis of Chronology (1809), I. p. 302. Sir Isaac Newton also reckons a generation as equivalent to 33½ years in his Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms. (Pub. 1728.)

² Dr. Fleet takes 25 years as the length of a generation (Dynasties of the Canarese Districts, Bombay Gazetteer. I, Pt. ii, p. 537). Dr. Bhāndārkar allows 27 years to each generation (History of the Dekkan, *Ibid.* 256) and Dr. Sten Konow thirty years. (Epigraphia Indica. XI, 198.)

Now Dastur Kaiqubād was born in 1893 (*Athornān Nāmu*, p. 81) and there are eleven generations between him and Mihrji Rānā—whose name is recorded in a document dated V. S. 1590 (1534 A.C.) in such a context or connection as to imply that he must have been about twenty years old at the time. (Studies in Parsi History, p. 203). If then Mihrji Rānā was born about 1514 A.C., there would be an interval of 379 (1893-1514) years between the two dates—which divided by the number of generations—11—yields an average of 34.45 years for a generation.¹

Again, the pedigree of Dastur Dārāb Peshotan Sanjānā is Dārāb—Peshotan—Shāpūrji—Tehmulji—Navroji—Rustamji—Bahrāmji—Dārābji—Sohrābji.

Dastur Dārāb was born in 1857 A.C. (*Athornān Nāmu*, 401), and his ancestor the *Shahr-ustād* Rustamji Bahrāmji in A.Y. 1088 (1719 A.C.) *Ibid.* 751. Thus there are 5 generations in 138 years (1857-1719) which gives an average length of 27.6 years.

The pedigree of Dastur Minūcheher Kaikhusrū J. Jāmāsp Āsānā is

Minūcheher—Kaikhusrū—Jāmāspji—Minūcheherji—Edalji—Dārābji—Jamshed—Jāmāsp—Āsā.

Now Dastur Minūcheher was born in 1899, and Jāmāsp Āsā in 1693 A.C. (*Athornān Nāmu* p. 218) and there are seven generations and 206 years between them, which gives an average of 29.4 years.

The genealogy of Dastur Barzorji Dārābji of Rustampura, Surat, is thus given from a Family Nāmagrahaṇ by Mr. Kātrak. (Report on Kolophons, April, 1921, p. 10.)

Barzorji (Born, Vikram Samvat 1917)—Dārābji (Born, V.S. 1887), Khūrshed (Born, V.S. 1861), Barzor (Born, V.S. 1828), Khūrshed (Born, V.S. 1803), Barzor (Born, V.S. 1752), Dastur Dārāb (Born, V.S. 1727), Pāhlan Faredūn (Born, V.S. 1700.). Thus we have seven generations to fill a period of 217 years, yielding 31 years as the mean length of a generation.

¹ The explanation of this undoubtedly very high average is to be sought and found in the fact that we have to deal here for the greater part, with the *descendants of younger sons*. Mihrji Rānā himself was the second son of Rānā Jaisang; Kaiqubādji was the third or youngest son of Mihrji; Mānekji, Rustamji and Sohrābji were all the second sons of their fathers, and Naushirvānji was the third and youngest son of Sohrābji. *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali*, pp. 33-44.

If we take the descendants of Dastur Dārāb, the teacher of Anquetil, we find that Ervad Jamshedji's pedigree is:—Jamshedji, Sohrābji, Khūrshedji, Mobedji, Sohrābji, Rustamji, Dārāb, Sohrāb, Bahman, Bahrām, Frāmarz, (Mody--Anquetil du Perron and Dastur Dārāb. p, 74.).

Now Jamshedji was born in 1869 A.C. and we know that Dārāb was made Nāvar in V.S. 1768 on Roz Bād, Māh Mihr (Navsāri Fihrist of Nāvars, MS.) so that he must have been born about 1754 V.S. 1698 A.C. And this is confirmed by the *Parsi Prakāsh* (p. 49), according to which he died on the 12th of August 1772 A.C., at the age of seventy-five. Now Dārāb stands six generations before Jamshedji, his living descendant and 1869—1698=171 which yields 28·5 years as the mean value of a generation.

The pedigree of Mr. Jālbhāi Ardeshir Sheth is thus given: Jālbhāi, Mihrvānji, Mānekji, Mihrvānji, Navroji, Sohrābji, Minucheherji, Bahmanji, Rustam Mānek.

Mr. Jālbhāi was born in 1858 A. C. (*Sheth Khāndānni Vanshāvali*, p. 52) and Rustam Mānek in 1635 A. C., (*Ibid*, p. 9; *Parsi Prakāsh*, p. 23). The eight generations and 223 years between the two yield an average of 27·875 years for a generation.

The pedigree of Mr. Dādābhāi Navroji is given as follows :—

Dādābhāi, Navroji, Pāhlanji, Hormasji, Frāmji, Bachāji Hamjiār, Sohrābji, Barjorji (died A.C. 1622), Chāndji, Kāmdin.

Now Dādābhāi was born in 1825 (J. B. Dordi, A Farmān of the Emperor Jahāngīr) and there are nine generations between him and his ancestor Chāndji. We do not unfortunately know the date of Chāndji's birth, but the Farmān was issued in A. H. 1027 (A.C. 1618) after his visit to the Court of Jahāngir and his son Barjor Chāndji Kāmdin's death is recorded on Roz. 24, Māh. 5, V.S. 1678 (1622 A.C.). He must have therefore been at least fifty years old in 1618 and so born in 1568 A.C. And 1825—1568=257, which divided by nine, gives 28·5 years as the average duration of a generation.

It will be seen that we have obtained, in the cases considered, the following averages:—34·45; 27·6; 28·5; 29·4; 31; 28·5; 28·875; 28·5. The sum total of these results is 236·8, which divided by eight, yields 29·6, as the average duration of a generation.

In these circumstances, I have thought it best to adopt as the bases of our calculations, 28 and 30 years as the mean length of a generation.

Let us now see what these old Kolophons or Postscripts can tell us.

The oldest *dated* Kolophon from Broach is that of Peshotan Rām Kāmdin. Here, eight generations are shown between Hormazdyār Rāmyār and the scribe, who must have been, at the time of writing, (766 A.Y. 1397 A.C.), very young, as his father Rām Kāmdin is known to have written another MS. in 1466 V.S. 1410 A.C. (Hoshangji and Haug, *Ardā Virāf*, *Introd.* p.x). Now if Peshotan was, as Dr. West thinks, only 15 years old in 1397 A.C., he must have been born in 1382 A.C. If we allow 30 years to a generation, $1382 - 30 \times 8 = 1382 - 240 = 1142$. If we take 28 as the average length of a generation, $1382 - 28 \times 8 = 1382 - 224 = 1158$.

In other words, according to this Kolophon, the date of Hormazdyār's birth must be 1142 or 1158 A.C. But there is nothing impossible or even improbable in Peshotan Rām's having been, not fifteen, but *twenty* years old in 1397 A.C. If Rām Kāmdin had become a father at 20,—a phenomenon not at all uncommon in this country,—Peshotan would have been born in 1377, and Rām himself in 1357 A.C., *i.e.*, only 53 years of age in 1410 A.C., and not at all too old to "copy manuscripts without glasses." On this supposition, *viz.*, that Peshotan was 20 in 1397 A.C., Hormazdyār's birthdate would be five years earlier, 1137 or 1153 A.C.

I have said that this is the earliest *dated* Kolophon from Broach, but there is an older one in existence. It is the post-script found in some Mss. of Miscellaneous Pahlavi Texts, in which the name of the copyist is given as Kāmdin, Shahriār, Neryosang, Samand. Unfortunately, it is not possible to say anything certain as to its date,¹ and it is therefore useless for our purpose. But it has, nevertheless, a corroborative value of its own, in as much as it shows that the names given by Peshotan for five of his ancestors are the same as those which were known to his grandfather. It is also instructive for another reason. I have suggested, *ante p.*, 88, that the name

¹ The question is discussed at some length in my 'Studies in Parsi History,' pp. 134-148. All that can be said in the present state of knowledge, is that Kāmdin Shahriār's copy of the *Ayibatkāriha* was made about 1340 A.C. (*Ibid.* 147).

'Sūdeh' which occurs in the 'Broach Dasturs' Genealogy' is a Hinduised perversion or abbreviation of the 'Shahmard' of Peshotan's Kolophon. It appears here as *Samand*, and there can be little doubt that 'Samand' is another form of 'Shahmard' and that *Sūt*, *Shot*, *Sūth*, and *Sūhan* which are all found in later Kolophons from Broach are derived from this *Samand* (سمنند) through an intermediate form *Sünd* or *Sawand* (سونند).

We have then four Kolophons of Ardeshir Mobed Jivā Vikā. It has sometimes been doubted whether 'Mobed' is to be understood as the name of Ardeshir's father or as the title of Jivā, but this question is now set at rest by the Persian Kolophon of a *Yasna* written in 925 A.C. which is in the India Office Library. Dr. J. M. Unwālā has copied the postscript in his Report and I give it below with all its errors and eccentricities of spelling:—

روز بهرام ماه آوان سال نوهوشد [Recte, نهصد] و بیست
و بجز [پنج, Recte] کتاب یزشن تمام شد من دین بنده
هیربدزاده از نسل موبد هرمزیار هیربد اردشیر بنر موبد بنر
جیهوا بنر توپا بنر اردشیر بنر + رام بن قیام دین بنر
شهریار بنر نیر یو سنگ بنر + بهرام بنر موبد هرمزیار
Dr. Unwālā's Report, p. 86. هیربد رامیار تمت

It will be seen that when he transcribed his earliest known manuscript in 925 A.C., Ardeshir was not so well-informed about his pedigree as he shows himself to have been in his subsequent Kolophons. It would appear from Dr. Unwālā's copy of the Postscript that there is a gap [or illegible name] after [the earlier] Ardeshir (Rīm) who is here said to be the father, not of *Vikā* but of *Toyā*.¹ Moreover, two other names are left out here between Neryosang and Bahrām although they are given in the later Kolophons of 956 A.C. and 963 A.C. as *Sūt* [or *Shahmard*] and *Shahriār* [or *Shatroyār*]. Leaving aside the two Kolophons dated 925 A.C. and 960 (or 966) A.C., which are evidently imperfect or incomplete, we find that the number of generations standing between Ardeshir Mobad Jivā and Hormazydār Rām-

¹ *Sic* in Dr. Unwālā's transcript, but it is most probably a mislection or a clerical error. The other Kolophons leave little doubt as to *Vikā* being the correct reading.

yār is 12. Now we know that Ardeshir was alive in 963 A.Y. (1594 A.C.) and it is also fairly clear from the orthography of his Persian postscript that he was very young in 925 A.Y. If he was 20 years old at the time, he must have been born in 905 A.Y., 1536 A.C. In that case, we obtain :—

$$1536-30 \times 12 = 1536-360 = 1176 \text{ or}$$

1536—28 × 12 = 1356—336 = 1200 A.C.
as the birth-date of Hormazdyār.

· If Ardeshir is supposed to have been only 15 at the time, the result will be 1181 and 1205 A.C.

Dastur Dārāb Peshotan Sanjānā has remarked that “three more generations are wanted to fill up the interval of about 180 years between the two Ardeshirs,” viz., between Ardeshir Mobed Jivā and Ardeshir Rām Kāmdin (Pahlavi Vendidad, Introd. xliii. Note 3). But this inference is invalidated to some extent, if not entirely, by the fact that the difference between the birth dates of Hormazdyār arrived at from the Kolophons of Ardeshir Mobed and Peshotan Rām does not exceed (1176-1142) 34 years. Again, there are eight generations between Hormazdyār and Peshotan and twelve between Hormazdyār and Ardeshir. Now if, Peshotan was born, as we have supposed, about 1380 A.C. and Ardeshir about 1535, the difference between their birth dates is of 155 years. At the same time, the difference in the number of generations is only four (12—8). This is certainly too small, and it does seem that there is a lacuna (as would appear from Ardeshir’s own Kolophon of 925 A.C.), but this lacuna can comprise, not *three* names, but only *one*, or at the most, two.

Two other remarks may be relevantly made. It appears from another Kolophon from Broach, that Padam Jamshed’s father was Vikā Bahrām, and one is tempted to identify him with Ardeshir Mobed’s great-grand-father (Vikā), and say that the name of the father of the latter was Bahrām, and that this is the name which is left out in the postscript of 925 A.Y. But there are several considerations against this assumption. Vikā *Bahrām’s* name occurs in the Revāyet of Kāus Kāmdin (Studies in Parsi History, pp. 314-5), of which the date is somewhere between 1553 and 1584 A.C., and it is hardly likely that he could have been the grand-father of one individual who wrote in 1642 A.C. (Padam) and the *great* grand-father of another who was not improbably born about 1536 A.C. as his earliest Ms. was written in 1556 (925 A.Y.). In other words, the probabilities

are against Vikā the grand-father of Padam Jamshed having been the same individual as Vikā the great grand-father of Ardeshir Mobed. Secondly, we know that a copy of Vāgbhatta's medical treatise the *Ashtāṅga-Yoga-hṛdaya* was "caused to be transcribed in the Samvat year 1486 [1430 A.C.] at Bhṛigu-Kshetrā or Broach by Ardhhasera (Ardeshir) who was a learned Adhyāru or priest of the Pārsika race for his son to study." (Bhāndārkar, Report on the Search for Sanscrit Manuscripts, during 1882-83, pp. 35-36 and 221). It is possible that this *Ardhhasera* was Ardeshir Rām Kāmdin, the ancestor of Ardeshir Mobed and brother of Peshotan. If he had a son old enough to understand Vāgbhatta's work in 1430 A.C., he himself must have been about fifty years old at the time, and born about 1380 A.C. Now if Ardeshir Mobed was born about 1536 A.C., four generations stand between ancestor and descendant and the number of years intervening between them is 156. This again seems to show that there is a lacuna or gap, but the real difficulty is that the name of the father of this *Ardhhasera* is not given, and there are no positive grounds for identifying him with Ardeshir Rām.

Let us now examine the Postscript of the *Bāj-Dharnā* Ms. written by Padam Jamshed Vikā Bahrām in 1011 A.Y., 1642 A.C. The name of Vikā Bahrām occurs in the Revāyet of Kāus Kāmdin, of which the date cannot be precisely determined, but that of Māhiār Narsang—the grand-father of Vikā is found in Jāsā's Revāyet of 885 A.Y., 1516 A.C. (Studies in Parsi History, 290), and also in the letter associated with the name of Aspandiyār Sohrāb which must have been written a few years later. (*Ibid.* 291-2.). Now, if Māhiār Narsang was 40 or 50 years old at the time, he must have been born in 1476 or 1466 A.C. The number of generations shown between Padam and Māhiār is four. Now

$$1476 + 120 = 1596$$

$$1466 + 120 = 1586$$

$$1476 + 112 = 1588$$

$$1466 + 112 = 1578.$$

In other words, Padam Jamshed must have been

$$1642 - 1596 = 46, \text{ or}$$

$$1642 - 1586 = 56, \text{ or}$$

$$1642 - 1588 = 54, \text{ or}$$

$$1642 - 1578 = 64,$$

years old at the time of writing, according as the mean length of a generation is reckoned at 30 or 28 years. It is open to the reader to accept any one of the four figures. It will suffice for our purpose to take the lowest, *viz.*, 46.

Now we see that there are 15 generations in this pedigree between Hormazdyār and Padam. So the former must have been born in

$$1596 - 30 \times 15 = 1596 - 450 = 1146 \text{ A.C. or}$$

$$1596 - 28 \times 15 = 1596 - 420 = 1176 \text{ A.C.}$$

These results are practically identical with those arrived at from the Kolophon of Peshotan Rām and this is not a little reassuring.¹ They also seem to indicate that if there is any gap or omission in the pedigree given by Ardeshir Mobed, it is due to the loss of not three, but probably of only one name. For the difference in the number of generations between Hormazdyār and Ardeshir, (12), and Hormazdyār and Padam, (15), is 3 and the difference between their approximate birth-dates (1596 and 1536) is only 60 years or two generations.

There is a point in connection with this Kolophon which is not without interest. The Mihrji Rānā Library at Navsāri possesses a MS. written by Ustād Hoshang Ustād Nākhwā in A.Y. 764 or 864. It is not easy to say anything positive as to the correctness of either reading, but it will be seen that Hoshang was six generations remote from Padam Jamshed. Now, if Padam was born about 1596 A.C., Hoshang's own birth-date must be $1596 - (30 \times 6) = 1416$, or $1596 - (28 \times 6) = 1428$, or $1596 - (25 \times 6) = 1446$, according as 30, 28 or 25 years are reckoned equivalent to a generation. If we take another gauge, we observe that Ardeshir Mobad Jivā was sixth in descent from Kāmdin Shahriār and Hoshang Nākhwā was third. In other words, there is a difference of three generations between them. Now Ardeshir was born about 1505 A.C., Hoshang must have therefore come into this world about $1505 - 90 = 1415$ A.C. or $1505 - 84 = 1421$ A.C. or $1505 - 75 = 1430$ A.C. The close similarity of these results would appear to indicate that the true reading

¹ This Kolophon shows that the scribe did not belong to the direct line of Rām Kāmdin. He was descended not from Peshotan Rām Kāmdin, but from Peshotan's uncle Zartosht Kāmdin. Its value lies in the fact that the names given by Padam in 1642 A.C. as those of the ancestors of Zartosht are identical with those given by Peshotan in 1397 A. C. for Rām Kāmdin, Zartosht's brother.

of the date is 864 A.Y. and that this *Rūznāma* was written by Ustād Hoshang when he was himself about sixty years old. It is perhaps worth while to note that another copy of the same astrological treatise exists in this Library, which was transcribed (probably from Hoshang Nākhwā's MS.) by Ardeshir Mobad Jivā Bhikhā in Broach in 960 A.Y. (Dhābhar's Catalogue, Nos. T. 47 and T. 36, pp. 124 and 126).

It may be also pointed out that the names which appear as Shatroiyār, Neryosang and Shahmard in Peshotan Rām's Kolophon are here given as Sahiār, Nāhat and Shot and that in Ardeshir Mobad's postscript to the *Visparad* written in 956 A.Y. (1587 A.C.) they have been read as Ādar, Neryosang, and Sūt, by Mr. Kātrak.

The pedigree of Mihrnūsh Faredūn is not taken from a Kolophon but from a contemporary writing of a somewhat different sort, the *Fihrist* or Register of Nāvars kept in the *Vaḍi Daré-mihr* of Navsāri. It is common knowledge that *Athornān* boys are made Nāvars when about thirteen or fourteen years old *i. e.* before they have reached the age of puberty. If Mihrnūsh Faredūn became a Nāvar in V.S. 1734 (1678 A.C.), he must have been born about 1664 A.C. Here, the number of generations upto Hormazdyār is given as only 14, but it is obvious that two names, *viz.*, Kāmdin and Shahriār, have been inadvertently omitted after Zartosht. If this necessary correction is made, there are 16 generations in all. In that case, Hormazdyār's birth-date would be

$$1664 - 30 \times 16 \text{ or } 1666 - 480 = 1184 \text{ A.C.}$$

$$1664 - 28 \times 16 \text{ or } 1666 - 448 = 1216 \text{ A.C.}$$

But it must be noted that 15 generations are enumerated in Padam Jamshed's Kolophon, and sixteen can be made up from this entry only after adding the two names left out, although Padam was born about 1596 A.C. and Mihrnūsh about 1666 A.C. or seventy years later. This would seem to indicate that there is another lacuna somewhere and the resulting birthdate of Hormazdyār does not appear to be entirely trustworthy.

Lastly, there are seven generations between Mihrnūsh and Hoshang Nākhwā, and there are six only between Padam and Hoshang—although there is a difference of 70 years between the date of Padam's birth and the Nāvar's. This also indicates that there is something wrong. This again shows that the genealogical entries in the Navsāri *Fihrist* are not always

accurate and merely represent the knowledge of the day as to the person's ancestry. In other words, it is clear that the names of some of their remote ancestors had been forgotten by or were unknown to the Mobeds of Broach in the seventeenth century.

But leaving this point aside, and seeking to ascertain what light this pedigree can throw on the difficult question of the date of Hoshang Nākhwā's Manuscript, we find that Hoshang must have been born about

$$1666-30 \times 7 = 1666-210 = 1456 \text{ A.C. or}$$

$$1666-28 \times 7 = 1666-196 = 1470 \text{ A.C.}$$

In other words, the reading 864 A.Y. (1495 A.C.) would appear, if this genealogy is to be trusted, more probable than the alternative, 764 A.Y. (1395 A.C.)

In the schedule of the ancestors of Jamshed Sohrāb, we can count only 13 generations between Hormazdyār and the Nāvar who must have been born about V. S. 1759-14, i.e., V. S. 1745 or 1689 A.C. This is because three degrees of ascent after Ardeshir—(Rām, Kāmdin and Shahriār)—have been ignorantly or carelessly left out.¹ Even after adding these three names, we get as Hormazdyār's birth-date,

$$1689-30 \times 16 = 1689-480 = 1209 \text{ A.C., or}$$

$$1689-28 \times 16 = 1689-448 = 1241 \text{ A.C.}$$

which is evidently much later than the results obtained from the oldest Kolophons and consequently open to doubt and suspicion.

Attention may also be invited to the fact that in these two genealogies, the names Neryosang and Samand (or Shahmard) assume the forms, *Tār* [Nār] or *Nāhar* and *Sūth* or *Suhan*.

The Kolophon of the Pahlavi Revāyet written by Bahrām Ardeshir exhibits only 15 generations between the scribe

¹ According to the *Fihrist* of Nāvars, Peshotan the grandfather of the scribe Jamshed Sohrāb, was consecrated Nāvar in V. S. 1699, A.C. 1643 (p. 5); and Mr. Kātrak has registered a *Vendidad-i-Sādeh* transcribed by his brother, who gives his name as Dārāb, Sohrāb, Peshotan, Bahman, Kāus, Ādar, Jivā, Wika, Ardeshir, Rāmyār, descendant of Mobed Hormazdyār Rāmyār on Roz Sarosh, Māh Ardibehesht V. S. 1759, A.Y. 1070 (Report, January 1921, p. 35).

and Hormazdyār, although the year of writing is 1119 A.Y., 1750 A.C. One error or omission is easily spotted—that of the name of Bahrām after Sahiār. Even with this addition, the pedigree does not appear to be such as to command assent or confidence. For even supposing that the scribe Bahrām was at the time of writing, so far advanced in years as to have reached the age of 50,

$$1750-50=1700 \text{ and}$$

$$1700-30 \times 16=1700-480=1220 \text{ A.C.}$$

$$1700-28 \times 16=1700-448=1252 \text{ A.C.}$$

It will be observed that this Bahrām was a descendant of Ardeshir Mobed Jivā, and that there are only four generations between the two, although Ardeshir was born about 905 A.Y. (1536 A.C.) and Bahrām could not have seen the light of day long before 1069 A.Y., 1700 A.C. In other words, there are only 4 generations to cover 164 years, which gives ground for suspicion.

But notwithstanding these defects, the postscript is not without utility or value. It is worth while to note that here the name of Kāmdin is written *Kāhnān*, that Shahriār is transformed into *Ādar*, as it had already been in Ardeshir Mobed's postscript to the *Visparad*, and that in stead of Neryosang and Shahmard we have the vernacular and more homely *Nehār* and *Samand*.

Of the Kolophons appended to manuscripts from Navsāri, the oldest containing a pedigree is the Postscript on the last folio of the Pāzand Jāmāspi written in A. Y. 873, Vikram Samvat 1560 (1504 A.C.).

The name of the scribe, Rānā Jaisang, is found in the Revāyets of 896 and 904 A.Y. and he is known to have written a *Bahman-nāma* in 915 A.Y., 955 A.H. (1546 A.C.). We also possess a partition-deed of his goods and chattels, dated Roz Āvān, Māh Āvān, V. S. 1612 or 1556 A.C. (Studies in Parsi History, 296-298, 305 Note and 208-213). All this points to his having been not more than twenty in 1504 A.C., that is, to his having been born about 1484 A.C. Now the number of generations lying between him and Hormazdyār is nine, and the resultant birth-date of that worthy is, therefore,

$$1484-30 \times 9=1484-270=1214 \text{ A.C.}$$

$$1484-28 \times 9=1484-252=1232 \text{ A.C.}$$

According to Peshotan Rām's Kolophon, the number of generations standing between himself and Hormazdyār was 8. Peshotan was born about 1382 or 1377 A.C., Rānā Jaisang about 1484 A.C., *i.e.*, about one hundred years later, and yet only 9 generations altogether can be reckoned in this Kolophon.

Āsḍin Kākā's earliest manuscript is a *Khordeh-Avestā* written in 921 A.Y., 1552 A.C. (Dhābhar, Navsāri Mihrji Rānā Library Catalogue, No. T. 12, p. 112), his latest a *Yasht* codex dated 960 A.Y. (1591 A.C.) Geldner, *Prolegomena*, p. V.) and he is said to have died at a great age in 1648 V.S., 1592 A.C. (*Bhagarsūth Vanshāvali*, p. 240)¹. If we suppose that he had reached the proverbial three score years and ten in 1592, he must have been born in 1522 A.C. Here also, we can count only 9 generations and we get

$$1522-30 \times 9 = 1522-270 = 1252 \text{ A.C.}$$

$$1522-28 \times 9 = 1522-252 = 1270 \text{ A.C.}$$

for Hormazdyār's birth-date.²

It must be noted that the Kolophon of Rānā Jaisang shows 9 generations, and we find here exactly the same number, although Rānā was born about 1484, and Āsḍin about 1522 A.C. *i.e.* thirty-eight years later. This lends colour to the supposition that some names have been lost.

We possess a manuscript in which the scribe has 'copied in' an old Postscript of Bahrām Lakhmidhar's dated 1507 V. S. (1450 A.C.). There are 4 generations between Bahrām and Āsḍin who was born about 1522 A.C. Bahrām must have therefore been born about

$$1522-30 \times 4 = 1522-120 = 1402 \text{ A.C.}$$

$$1522-28 \times 4 = 1522-112 = 1410 \text{ A.C.}$$

In other words, he must have been 48 or 40 years old when he wrote the Pāzand *Ardāvirāf* referred to. (Hoshangji and Haug, *Op. cit.*, Introd. xii). This shows that the genealogy is

¹ In the *Parsi Prakāsh* (p. 13), the year of his death is given as 1638 A.C. but this is almost demonstrably erroneous, for it would make him 101 years old, even if he is supposed to have been only 15 at the time of writing the *Khordeh Avestā* Ms. in 921 A.Y., 1552 A.C.

² If Āsḍin is supposed to have been only twenty years old when he wrote the *Khordeh Avestā* Ms., the dates would be 1242 and 1260 A.C. but this would not make any real difference.

correct upto Bahrām, but no further; there appear to be reasons for believing that two or three names between Lakhmidhar and Hormazdyār had dropped out of the popular memory so early as the first quarter of the 16th century.

The total number of generations between Jamshed Kaiqubād and Hormazdyār Rāmyār, is fourteen, but as he has left out the name of Kāmdin after Zartosht, we should really reckon 15. Now we know that Jamshed became a Nāvar in V. S. 1711 (1655 A.C., (Navsāri *Fihrist*, p. 11). Again, Jamshed wrote a *Khordeh Avestā* Ms. on Roz. Dīn, Māh Aspadārmad, 1078 A.Y., 1709 A.C., in which he says that he was 72 years old at the time.¹ (Ervad Manekji R. Unwālā's Mss. described in Ervad Naushirvān B. Desāi's MS. Report on Kolophons, pp. 731-2). If then Jamshed was born about 1006 A.Y. or 1637 A.C., and if he was in the 15th degree of descent from Hormazdyār, the latter's birth must have taken place about

$$1637 - 30 \times 15 = 1637 - 450 = 1187 \text{ A.C.}$$

$$1637 - 28 \times 15 = 1637 - 420 = 1217 \text{ A.C.}$$

It is possible to test the accuracy of this pedigree to a certain extent with the aid of the Revāyets. Bahrām Pāhlan's name is mentioned in the missives of 1527 and 1535 A.C. and in the Kolophon of a manuscript purporting to have been written in V. S. 1577, 1520 A.C. (Studies in Parsi History, 304-5; West, Pahlavi Texts, III., S. B. E. XXIV, p. xxi).

The names of his father and grandfather, Pāhlan and Ānnān also arrest attention in the Letters of 1516 and 1478 A.C. (Studies, 290, 280) and Rānā Kāmdin is, as I have shown elsewhere, (*Ibid*-268-70), no other than the writer of the old Pāzand—

¹ In a long Persian Kolophon in verse he says

مرا سال هفتاد و دو بوده است .: بروز جوانی بودم چیدرو مست

The fact is not without interest as it goes far to prove that the age of sixty is *not* the extreme limit of a copyist's activities as Drs. Goldner and West have supposed. Jamshed Kaiqubād was alive in 1080 A.Y., 1711 A.C., and composed in that year the *Qissa-i-Rustam Mānak* of which there is a copy in the Mullā Firūz Library, (Dhābhar's Catalogue, 1923, pp. 39-40.) His pedigree is given with some variation in the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali* (pp. 4 and 8). Instead of Jamshed, Kaiqubād, Jamshed, Kāmdin, Hormazdyār, Khūrshed, Bahrām, we have Jamshed, Kaiqubād, Jamshed, Faredun, Kāmdin, Khūrshed, Bahrām. It will be seen that the number of generations is the same. Only two names are different, which are probably those of *Pālaks*.

Sanskrit-Gujārāṭī *Ardā Virāḥ* which has the date 784 A.Y. (1415 A.C.) appended to the *Āshirvād* (Hoshangji and Haug, *Op. cit.*, xi). Now there are ten generations between Jamshed and Rānā Kāmdin, so we get

$$1637-30 \times 10 = 1637-300 = 1337 \text{ A. C. or}$$

$$1637-28 \times 10 = 1637-280 = 1357 \text{ A.C.}$$

as Rānā Kāmdin's probable birth date. To put it differently, he would appear to have been about 58 years old at the time of writing (1415-1357), which is in fair conformity with the course of nature. Similarly, there are six generations between the scribe and Bahrām Pāhlan who was alive about 1520 A.C. and must have been born about 1480, if not earlier. The total of intervening years 157 (1637-1480) would give 26.16 years as the mean length of a generation which is in accordance with reason and experience.

The Kolophon of the *Khordeh Avestā* Manuscript indited by Naushirvān Jamshed in V. S. 1760, 1073 A.Y., shows eighteen generations between the copyist and Hormazdyār. As Naushirvān became a Nāvar in V. S. 1726, (*Fihrist*, p. 24), he may be fairly supposed to have been born about 1712 V.S. 1656 A.C. Thus we get

$$1656-30 \times 18 = 1656-540 = 1116 \text{ A.C. or}$$

$$1656-28 \times 18 = 1656-504 = 1152 \text{ A.C.}$$

as the approximate year of Hormazdyār's birth.

Similarly, there are ten generations between the scribe and Pāhlan Ānnān who is one of the persons addressed in Jāsā's Revāyet, 1516 A.C. (*Studies*, p. 290). Thus,

$$1656-30 \times 10 = 1656-300 = 1356 \text{ A.C., or}$$

$$1656-28 \times 10 = 1656-280 = 1376 \text{ A.C.}$$

must be Pāhlan's birthdate.

As there are no less than 13 degrees of descent between Rānā Kāmdin and the scribe, the former must have been born, if this pedigree is correct, about

$$1656-30 \times 13 = 1656-390 = 1266 \text{ A.C.}$$

$$1656-28 \times 13 = 1656-364 = 1292 \text{ A.C.}$$

Both these results are obviously unacceptable and we are inclined to suspect that some names have been interpolated in the lower part of the pedigree or that they stand for the names of *pālaks*, who were not the fathers but the brothers or cousins of the persons mentioned. This suspicion is confirmed by the fact that Jamshed Kaiqubād who was a member of the same family and was born about 1637 A. C. reckons only seven generations between himself and Pāhlan Ānnān, while Naushirvān who was his junior by only nineteen years swells out the list to ten. But if the pedigree is not reliable, it follows that the birthdate of Hormazdyār,—1116 A. C. or 1152 A. C.—is also of little or no use for our purposes.

The next kolophon, that of Dārāb Vikji, is obviously imperfect. Two names have been left out between Kāmdin and Zartosht. Adding these two degrees of descent, there are 13 generations between Hormazdyār and the scribe who is recorded to have been consecrated as a Nāvar in V.S. 1723. If he was about 14 years old at the time, he must have been born in V.S. 1709 or 1652 A.C. (*Fihrist*, p. 20). In that case, we get

$$1652-30 \times 13 = 1652-390 = 1262 \text{ A.C.}$$

$$1652-28 \times 13 = 1652-364 = 1288 \text{ A.C.}$$

But there are some reasons for believing that the pedigree is defective. There are only five generations between the scribe and Pāhlan Ānnān who must have been an old man in 1516 A.C. (Jāsā's Revāyet, Studies, p. 290). If we deduct 150 or 140 from 1652, we get as Pāhlan's birth-date 1502 or 1512, which must be pronounced too late. But it would appear from the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali* (p. 20), that Vikji was not the real son but only the *Pālak* of Rānji or Rānā.¹

¹ According to the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali* (p. 20), Rānji, *i.e.*, Rānā Padam Narsang Pāhlan Ānnān, had no son of the name of Peshotan, and adopted a *Pālak* named Vikji who was the father of Dārāb Vikji, the copyist of the *Khordeh-Avestā*, dated 1051 A.Y.

In the Kolophon itself, the scribe says explicitly that Rānji also was the '*Pālak*' of Padam. According to the *Fihrist* of Nāvars, Rānji was the *Pālak* of Bhāyyā, which may have been a nickname or alias of Padam (p. 20).

I have said that Pāhlan Ānnān must have been an old man in 1516 A.C., because the names of the individuals mentioned in the addresses of the Revāyets are *generally* written in the same order in which their signatures were affixed to the original 'Letters of Inquiry or *Questionnaires* from India, *i.e.* in the order of seniority. Most of them, in fact, were the *elders* of the Community.

Again, a comparison with the pedigree of Naushirvān Jamshed who also was a descendant of Padam Narsang Pāhlan Ānnān shows that there is something wrong here, if not also there.

Naushirvān's consecration as Nāvar took place in 1726 V.S., Dārāb's in 1723 V.S. They were both of nearly the same age, and yet Naushirvān gives eight generations between himself and Padam Narsang Pāhlan Ānnān and Dārāb has only three? Padam Narsang's name occurs in the Revāyet of Kāus Kāmdin (Studies, p. 314) of which the date is supposed to be 922 A.C., 1553 A.C. If then Padam was born about 1520 A.C., there would be a difference of at least 132 years between the two birth-dates and only three generations to cover them. The explanation of the discrepancy is perhaps to be again found in the fact indicated in the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali* ;(p. 20) as well as the *Fihrist*(p. 20), that either Vikji or Rānji on both Vikji and Rānji were not the real sons of their predecessors but only *Pālaks*.

Between Naoroz Shāhpūr, the copyist of a Zend-Pahlavi *Vendidād* dated 1142 A.Y. (1773 A.C.) and Hormazdyār, Rāmyār, 16, or in reality only, 15 (as the name of Maghupat between Zartosht and Hormazdyār is an unauthorized interpolation) generations are enumerated in the Kolophon. If Naoroz was even 40 or 50 at the time of writing, he must have been born about 1733 or 1723 A.C. Then, if we take the earlier of the two dates,

$$1723 - 30 \times 15 = 1723 - 450 = 1273 \text{ A.C. or}$$

$$1723 - 28 \times 15 = 1723 - 420 = 1303 \text{ A.C.}$$

would be Hormazdyār's approximate birth-date.

It may be noted that there are 10 generations between the scribe and Bahrām Lakhmidhar who is known to have written an *Ardāvirāf-nāma* in V.S. 1507, A.C. 1450. If we subtract 300 (30×10) or 280 (28×10) from 1723, we get as Bahrām Lakhmidhar's birth-date 1423 or 1443, the first of which is within the bounds of reason and probability, but the fact that the generations given here by a person who was born about 1723 A.C. are equal in number (15) to those recounted by another (Jamshed Kaiqubād) who must have been born about eighty-six years before him (1637 A.C.) inclines one to suspect that the pedigree is imperfect. The ultimate result—the date of Hormazdyār's birth 1273 or 1303—is therefore, questionable and this genealogy illustrates, like several others, the uncertain and

hazardous character of the inferences deduced from all such enumerations of and computations by generations.¹

There are, in connection with these Kolophons from Navsāri, two other points which it is desirable to allude to. These points relate to the traditional dates of the first settlement of Mobed Kāmdin Zartosht and Hom Bahmanyār in that centre of Parsi population. These events are said to have taken place in 511 A. Y. (1142 A.C.) and V.S. 1271 (1215 A. C.) respectively. The authority generally cited for the first of these chronological statements is a paragraph in a partition-deed of the property of some descendants of Dastur Mihrji Rānā, and the entire predication is traceable only to the sophisticated source mentioned in the following excerpt from the *Parsi Prakāsh* (p. 2 note) :

નવસારીના વડા દસ્તુર મેહેરજી રાંણાના કટુંબમાં પછવાડેથી તેમનાં વારસોએ પોતાના વડવાઓની મીઠકતની વેહેચણી કરી લીધી તેને લગતા લેખોની નક્કની એક જુની ચોપડીમાં એક ઠેકાણે એમ લખેલું છે: ‘તેવાર પછે આપનો સને ૫૧૧ મા ફરવરદીન મહીનો ને દીન રોજે આપને નાગમંડલમા આવી મોકામ કીધો. અતે એ જગોની આબોહવા જોઈને દસ્તુરે કહીજાં જે કે જેવી આપનાં શારી (માંજંદરાનની અસલી રાજધાની) ગાંમની હતી તે મીશાલેની આબોહવા એ ગામની, માટે એ જગાતું નામ નવસારી રાખેા. તે દીનથી નવસારી નાગમંડલ લખાઈજાં બાકી આગોદર તો નાગમંડલ લખાતું હતું.

વલી એજ ચોપડીમાં એક ઠેકાણે લખેલું છે કે ‘પેહલો નવસારીમાં આવનાર મોખેદ કામદીન જરથોશ.’

It will be observed that the date of this partition-deed is not given by Mr. Bahmanji, but it is clear that it must be later than 1591 A.C. the year of Mihrji Rānā's death. (*Parsi Prakāsh*, p. 9.) It is even more germane to the matter to note four other points in regard to its real purport or signification. (1) In the first place, all that is said in the partition-deed itself is that the *Parsis*[આપને] first took up their residence in Navsāri in 511 A.Y.; (2) There is in this paragraph no reference to or mention

¹ The names of the descendants of this scribe's ancestor, Aspandīār Kākā, are very differently given in the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvalī*, pp. 85-86

of *Mobed Kāmdin Zartosht* having done so; (3) That reference is to be found not in the partition-deed, but *somewhere else in some other writing* which is preserved in this collection of copies of old papers; and (4) what is really said there is not that Mobed Kāmdin Zartosht settled in Navsāri in 511 A.Y., but that Kāmdin Zartosht was the *first* priest (મેખેદ) to come to Navsāri, though the words

‘ પેહલો નવસારીમાં આવનાર મેખેદ કામદીન જરથોશ ’

may also mean that “*Mobed (the son of) Kāmdin Zartosht* was the first *person* to arrive in Navsāri.”¹ In fact, it would appear that the traditional date for Kāmdin is not categorically given in this or any other authentic document at all, but is the not very logical product of the combination of two different statements occurring *separately* in two different writings of unquestionably modern date. It is said in *one* of these writings that the *Zoroastrians* first settled in Navsāri in 511 A.Y. It is stated in the other that the *Priest Kāmdin Zartosht* (or *Mobed*, his son) was the first to arrive in Navsāri: or that the first *priest* (not layman) to arrive in Navsāri was Kāmdin Zartosht; therefore, it has been inferred or rather assumed that Kāmdin Zartosht settled in Navsāri in 511 A. Y.

The second statement which relates to the date of the migration of Hom Bahmanyār and his son Faredūn from Sanjān to Navsāri (1215 A.C.) rests entirely on the following casual entry in the same chronicle.

શંખણી એક જુની ફેહરેશતમાં લખેલું છે કે

હોમ બેટા ફરેદુન સાથે નવસારી ગયો સંવત ૧૨૭૧.

(*Parsi Prakāsh*, p. 3 Note)

It is perhaps hardly necessary to remark that here again, the attendant circumstances are not at all such as to inspire confidence. No details are given as to the date of the ‘old-copy’ of the *Fihrist*, the name of its possessor, or its provenance,

¹ It is not intended to say that this was the actual meaning of the writer, but the words will bear that interpretation. It is unfortunate that there should be any ambiguity in connection with the phrase, but it is the inevitable result of Mobed, signifying ‘priest’ in general, *i.e.*, being a common title or epithet and also the personal name of the son of Kāmdin Zartosht.

or the context in which the statement occurs in that compilation.

But setting these defects aside, let us see if the dates themselves are in conformity with or receive any support from the Kolophons and the family Pedigrees to which the Bhagariās and Sanjānās attach so much credence.

It would be foreign to the present purpose to pursue the inquiry in detail and state categorically the result yielded by every one of the postscripts in reference to this matter. It will suffice to take two or three test-cases and the reader can follow up the argument and work out the other figures for himself from the dates given in these lists.

In the two oldest Navsāri Kolophons, eight generations are enumerated between Kāmdin Zartosht and Rānā Jaisang as well as Āsdim Kākā, who were born about 1484 and 1522 A.C. respectively. Thus, Kāmdin Zartosht must have come into the world about

$$1484 - 30 \times 8 = 1484 - 240 = 1244 \text{ A.C. or}$$

$$1484 - 28 \times 8 = 1484 - 224 = 1260 \text{ A.C. or}$$

$$1522 - 30 \times 8 = 1522 - 240 = 1282 \text{ A.C. or}$$

$$1522 - 28 \times 8 = 1522 - 224 = 1298 \text{ A.C.}$$

Similarly, Kāmdin Zartosht is six generations before Pāhlan Ānnān, who is one of the elders addressed in the Revāyet of 1516 A. C. Now if Pāhlan was only fifty years old at the time, (there is a *probable* reference to his father in Narimān Hoshang's letter of 1478 A. C.), Kāmdin Zartosht's birth-date must have been *circa*

$$1466 - 30 \times 6 = 1466 - 180 = 1286 \text{ A.C. or}$$

$$1466 - 28 \times 6 = 1466 - 168 = 1298 \text{ A. C.}$$

Very similar results will be reached by any reader who takes the cases of Wāchhā Pāhlan, Āsā Dhayyān or Mahiār Āsā. In other words, *if these pedigrees are correct*, Zartosht Kāmdin, or his son, Mobed, must have lived, not about 1142 A.C., but about one hundred and fifty years later.

Let us adopt, if only for variety of illustration, another gauge. We know that Rānā Kāmdin lived about 1415 A. C. Now if Kāmdin Zartosht settled in Navsāri in 1142 A. C., the

interval between the two is of about 273 years. But the number of generations shown between them is only *three*, which is altogether contrary to experience and the course of nature. Briefly, there is between this supposed date of Kāmdin Zartosht and the dates deducible from the Kolophons and the Genealogies a difference of about 150 years, and if these latter are reliable, the traditional date must be pronounced to be a flagrant violation of chronological truth.

Similarly, we can count in the Postscripts and Genealogies, only five generations between Hom Bahmanyār and Nāgoj Rustam, Nāgoj Bahman Bahrām Rustam, and Nāgoj Āsdim, who are all named in the Revāyets of Jāsā and Aspandīār Sohrāb about 1516—1520 A.C. (Studies 290—1). If Hom is supposed to have come to Navsāri in 1215 A. C., the number of years intervening between ancestor and descendants would be about 300, and that of generations only *five*, a calculation which would give the incredibly high average of 60 years for the mean length of a generation.

If we leave the direct descendants of Hom Bahmanyār and see how the matter stands in relation to those of his brother Hormazyār, we find that the oldest Sanjānā postscript reckons seven generations between the latter and Hamjiār Padam who has witnessed a Saledced dated 1558 A. C. (Studies, 242-246). Now seven generations are equivalent to a period of about 210 or 196 years, and this leads to the conclusion that Hormazdyār Bahmanyār and by implication his brother Hom, must have flourished not in 1215 A. C., but about 1348 (1558—210) or 1362 (1558—196) A. C. ¹

In a word, both these traditional dates are irreconcilable with the Kolophons as well as the Family pedigrees, and must be pronounced erroneous if the Postscripts and Genealogies are considered worthy of credit.

Let us now see what light is thrown on the problem of the date of Neryosang by the Kolophons of the Manuscripts copied by the Sanjānās. The oldest postscript of the Series—that of Hormazyār Qawāmuddin Kukā Hamjiār Padam—does not carry the pedigree beyond Khujasta Khushmasta. It is dated Roz Hormazd, Māh Dai, 954 A. Y. The next in

¹ It is perhaps necessary to say that these conclusions would not be materially affected even if the average length of a generation is extended to 33 years.

point of age is found in a Persian *Jāmāspi* written in 956 A. Y. 1587 A. C. by Aspandīār Padam Rustam who observes the same reticence in reference to Neryosang. A postscript dated 970 A. Y. stops at the name of Khūrshēd Kāmdīn, and the Kolophons of the numerous Manuscripts copied by Dārāb Hormazdyār and his father and his uncle Dastur Barzor Kāmdīn *always* trace their genealogy only upto Padam and then add the words, *از نسل نیروسنگ دهل* 'descended from Neryosang Dhaval.'

The question is, were these writers, these presumably well-informed representatives of the Sanjānā Athornāns of the 16th and 17th centuries ignorant of the relationship which Khushmasta bore to Neryosang, or did they entertain doubts as to the correctness of the traditional or popular genealogies? One of the strangest things about the *Qissa-i-Sanjān* is that the writer who may, with justice, be described as the official panegyrist of his sept, never mentions the name of Neryosang. He mentions Khujasta and Khushmasta, but he never asserts that Neryosang was their father and grandfather. Nay, he declares explicitly his ignorance of the names or history of the predecessors and ancestors of those worthies.¹

He writes.

در آن ایام اندر شهر سنجان : ز دستوران بمانده خانه چندان
ابر ایشان یکی حکم قضا شد : ندانم آنهمر دستور کجا شد
یکی دستور بوده در نیکوئی : جوان و و همنش و چربگوئی
مرآن دستور خوشمست بود نامش : که همواره بخوبی بود گامش
پسر کو را خجسته نام بوده : و را در باج و برسم کام بوده
چون چندین سالیان بروی گذشته : برو کج آسمان زینگونه گشته

My Autograph MS. of Dārāb Hormazdyār's Revāyet, folio 558 b.

["In this manner were spent two hundred years in joy, prosperity and quiet]. In these times, several Dastur's houses were left in Sanjān town. One of God's Judgments then came down upon them, but I do not know what became of all those

¹ Another point worth noting is that though Bahman Kaiqubād devotes more than fifty lines to a description of the foundation of the Ātash Bahrām, he does not say a word in support of the popular belief which ascribes its consecration to Neryosang.

Dasturs, [or where all of them went.] There dwelt one virtuous Dastur, young, well-intentioned and fluent of speech. The name of that Dastur was Khushmast and his aspirations [or steps] were always towards virtue. A son (he had) who bore the name of Khujasta and whose [sole] delight was the performance of the ceremonies of the *Bāj* and the *Barsam*." * * * When several years passed over, the heavens became untoward, the world suddenly became untoward unto them and Time (Destiny) resolved to take their lives." [Then follows an account of the invasion of Sanjān by Sultan Mahmūd].

It is also worthy of note that in an old *Nāmagrahaṇ* of the Sanjānās which is reproduced in the *Bhāgarsāth Vanshāvali* (p. 238), the pedigree does not go beyond Khushmasta Khujasta. Only, the usual order of their relationship is reversed. Khujasta is made the father and Khushmasta the son, but the name of Neryosang is not at all mentioned.

All this is somewhat disconcerting and seems to indicate that even so late as the 17th century, there was among the elders of the Sanjānā Community a difference of opinion or grave suspicion in regard to the integrity or *unbroken* character of their pedigree and that some of the most intelligent and capable men among them had conscientious scruples as to carrying it beyond Khushmasta or entertained serious doubts as to the nature of the relationship between him and Neryosang.

Putting these doubts and scruples aside, and adverting to the problem itself, we find that there are 13 generations between Hormazyār Qawāmu-d-din and Khushmasta. *If Neryosang was the latter's father*—as is now generally assumed or believed—there would be 14. If the scribe was 20 or 30 or 40 years old at the time of writing, he must have been born in 934, 924, or 914 A. Y. 1565, or 1555 or 1545 A. C.

If the middle one of these birth-dates is accepted in preference to the others, Neryosang himself must have come into the world in

$$1555 - 30 \times 14 = 1555 - 420 = 1135 \text{ A. C. or}$$

$$1555 - 28 \times 14 = 1555 - 392 = 1163 \text{ A. C.}$$

The other two birth-dates would yield 1125 or 1153 and 1145 or 1173 A. C. respectively.

The postscript to the *Jāmāspi* copied by Aspandīār Padam (or Peshotan?) Rustam is dated only two years after that of Hormazyār Qawāmu-d-din and the silence of the writer in

regard to Neryosang is certainly strange, even if it is not significant. But here there are only 12 generations between the scribe and Khushmasta and the total would be 13 *if Neryosang was his father*. The name of Padam Rustam Bahrām, Aspandīār's father—occurs in documents dated V.S. 1633 (Studies, p. 218) and V.S. 1655 (*Ibid.* 230), *i.e.*, in A. C. 1577, and 1599.¹ This would seem to indicate that his son Aspandīār could not have been more than forty years old in 1587 A. C. In that case,

$$1587-40=1547 \text{ and}$$

$$1547-30 \times 13 = 1547-390 = 1157 \text{ A. C. or}$$

$$1547-28 \times 13 = 1547-364 = 1183 \text{ A. C.}$$

would represent the approximate birth-date of Neryosang. Now, we learn from an entry in an old *Disāpothi* printed in the *Bhagarsāh Vanshāvali* (p. 240) that Aspandīār Padam Rustam Bahrām Āsdim Khūrshed Jaisā died on Roz Daipādar Mah Tir. V.S. 1647=1591 A. C. There is nothing improbable in his having been only forty-four at his death, but if he was younger, say 34, the year of Neryosang's birth would be 1167 or 1193 A.C.²

The two postscripts which follow tell us nothing about the date of Neryosang. All that they can do is to enable us to fix approximately the time at which Khūrshed Kāmdin and Hamjiār Padam flourished, but the dates of these persons are known more accurately from other sources. The name of the former is found in the Revāyet of 855 A.Y. 1486 A.C. and also in another Letter from Persia written in 880 A.Y. 1511 A.C. (Studies, 283 and 285). Between Shāpūr Hoshang Āsā for whom the *Khordeh Avestā* was written and Khūrshed Sanjānā there are six generations. If Shāpur was 15 years old in 1601 A.C., he must have been born about 1586 A.C., and this would yield 1406 (1586-180) or 1418 (1586-168) as Khurshed Kāmdin's birth-date. Similarly, the name of Hamjiār Padam is found in the Revāyet of Kāus Kāmdin (*Circa* 1570 A.C.) and in documents of V. S. 1614. 1558

¹ Padam Rustam Bahrām himself died on Roz 5, Māh 7 Vikram Samvat, 1662 (A. C. 1606). *Bhag. Vansh.* p. 240. He must have been about seventy, if not seventy five, at the time.

² There is an apparent discrepancy here. According to the *Bhagarsāh Vanshāvali*, (pp. 2 and 93) Rustam Bahrām was the son of Khūrshed Jaisā and not his grandson, as in this postscript. But in the old *Disāpothi* printed at p. 240 of the same work, the death of Aspandīār Padam Rustam Bahrām Āsdim Khūrshed Jaisā is entered on Roz 8-4-Vikram Samvat 1617

A.C. (Studies, pp. 244-246) and 1543 A.C. (*Pārsi Prakāśh* p. 8) and 1570 (Mody, Parsees at the Court of Akbar, 154-5).

The oldest Kolophon in which Neryosang is explicitly mentioned as the father of Khushmasta is dated V. S. 1704, A.C., 1648,¹ The number of generations given is 15 in all. As the scribe is stated to have been sixth in descent from Nāgoj Rustam whose name occurs in the Revāyet of Jāsā in 885 A.Y. 1516 A.C., and in an agreement signed in V. S. 1590=1534 A.C., (Studies, 290 and 201), he could have hardly been more than 20 at the date of writing. In that case, he must have been born about 1628, and if we deduct from 1628 A.C.

$$30 \times 15 = 450 \text{ or}$$

$$28 \times 15 = 420,$$

we obtain A.C., 1178 or 1208 as the birth date of Neryosang.

The Kolophon which follows is incomplete. Kershāsp Jāmāsp Bhāiji a member of another branch of the Sanjānā family, traces his pedigree again up to *Khushmasta only*, and enumerates sixteen of his ancestors. As he does not mention Neryosang, and as there is also the disturbing factor of a 'Pālak' in the pedigree, it is needless to examine it in detail. But the Geneology given here is otherwise deserving of notice, as though Kershāsp wrote so lately as 1727 A.C., he does not make a present of a son called Mobed to Neryosang, nor swell out the list of his forebears by thrusting in the names of Bahmanyār and Khūrshed after Khujasta. The latter interpolation is observed, for the first time, only in a Postscript of 1154 A.Y. (1785 A.C.) which we must now consider.

Rustam Bahrām, the copyist of two Manuscripts both dated 1154 A.Y., 1841 V. S. (1785 A.C.) makes out so many as eighteen generations between himself and Neryosang, but this is done by inserting between Bahmanyār and Khujista, two names which do not occur in any other Kolophon known to me. At the same time, he has (if the pedigree given in the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali* p. 3, is correct,) left out the name of Padam between Āsadin and Mahiār.² Now we know that this scribe—a direct ancestor of

¹ The pedigree of Rustam Hoshang which is given by himself is absolutely identical with the one found in the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali* p. 113.

² The *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali* (pp. 149 and 150) gives this pedigree also with one variation

Dastur Dārāb Peshotan Sanjāna of Bombay—was born in 1088 A.Y., 1719 A.C., (*Athornān Nāmu* p. 751). If then we eliminate the two adventitious or unauthorized names, and add that of Padam—we have 17 generations and as the scribe was born in 1719 A.C., we get

$$1719 - 30 \times 17 = 1719 - 510 = 1209 \text{ A.C. or}$$

$$1719 - 28 \times 17 = 1719 - 476 = 1234 \text{ A.C.}$$

as the natal year of Neryosang.

The last postscript on my list is a *Khordeh Avestā* MS. written less than a hundred years ago, (V. S. 1887, 1200 A.Y., 1831 A.C.) for Edalji Kāusji Bachāji Naushirvānji in which the pedigree¹ is, for the first time, carried up to Shāpūr Shahriār and that person declared to be the father of Neryosang Dhaval. At the same time, this writer inserts between the names of Khushmasta and Neryosang, the name of Mobed, and gives us to understand that Khushmasta was not the son but the grandson of the translator of the *Avestā*². In this way, he makes the total number of generations soar up to 23. If we suppose Edalji to have been about 30 years old at the time, 1831 - 30 = 1801 A.C. and if we subtract 690 (23 × 30) or 644 (23 × 28) from that number, we get 1111 or 1157 A.C., as the date of Neryosang. But if the apparently superfluous name of Mobed is not taken into account the results would be 1141 or 1185 A.C.

Tabular Statement of Results.

Approximate dates of Hormazdyār's birth according as 33, 30, 28 and 25 years are reckoned to a Generation.

Kolophons from Broach.

Peshotan Rām, 1397 A. C.

$$1377 - 33 \times 8 = 1113 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1377 - 30 \times 8 = 1137 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1377 - 28 \times 8 = 1153 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1377 - 25 \times 8 = 1177 \text{ A. C.}$$

1 A variation of this pedigree will be found in the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali* pp. 2, 127 and 131. According to it, Dādābhāi and Minucheher were brothers, not father and son. Bachāji's name is given as Bahrām, and Naushirvānji is stated to have been a *Pālak*.

2 But this notwithstanding, he does not foist in the names Khūrshēd and Bahmanyār as Bahrām Rustam does. At the same time, the latter lends no countenance to the interjection of Mobed, which is sufficient to prove that all the three names are modern sophistications.

Ardeshir Mobed Jivā, 1587 A. C.

$$1536 - 33 \times 12 = 1140$$

$$1536 - 30 \times 12 = 1176$$

$$1536 - 28 \times 12 = 1200 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1536 - 25 \times 12 = 1236 \text{ A. C.}$$

Padam Jamshed, 1642 A. C.

$$1596 - 33 \times 15 = 1101 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1596 - 30 \times 15 = 1146 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1596 - 28 \times 15 = 1176 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1596 - 28 \times 15 = 1221 \text{ A. C.}$$

Mihrnūsh Faredūn, 1678 A. C.

$$1664 - 33 \times 16 = 1136 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1664 - 30 \times 16 = 1184 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1664 - 28 \times 16 = 1216 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1664 - 25 \times 16 = 1264 \text{ A. C.}$$

Jamshed Sohrāb, 1703 A. C.

$$1689 - 33 \times 16 = 1161 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1689 - 30 \times 16 = 1209 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1689 - 28 \times 16 = 1241 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1689 - 25 \times 16 = 1289 \text{ A. C.}$$

Bahrām Ardeshir, 1750 A. C.

$$1700 - 33 \times 16 = 1172 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1700 - 30 \times 16 = 1220 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1700 - 28 \times 16 = 1252 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1700 - 25 \times 16 = 1300 \text{ A. C.}$$

Navsāri Kolophons.

Rānā Jaisang, 1504 A. C.

$$1484 - 33 \times 9 = 1187 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1484 - 30 \times 9 = 1214 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1484 - 28 \times 9 = 1232 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1484 - 25 \times 9 = 1259 \text{ A. C.}$$

Āsdir Kākā, 1567 A. C.

$$1522 - 33 \times 9 = 1225 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1522 - 30 \times 9 = 1252 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1522 - 28 \times 9 = 1270 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1522 - 25 \times 9 = 1297 \text{ A. C.}$$

Jamshed Kaiqubād, 1678 A. C.

$$1637 - 33 \times 15 = 1142 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1637 - 30 \times 15 = 1187 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1637 - 28 \times 15 = 1217 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1637 - 25 \times 15 = 1262 \text{ A. C.}$$

Dārāb Vikji, 1683 A. C.

$$1652 - 33 \times 13 = 1223 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1652 - 30 \times 13 = 1262 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1652 - 28 \times 13 = 1288 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1652 - 25 \times 13 = 1327 \text{ A. C.}$$

Naushirvān Jamshed, 1704 A. C.

$$1656 - 33 \times 18 = 1062 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1656 - 30 \times 18 = 1116 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1656 - 28 \times 18 = 1152 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1656 - 25 - 18 = 1206 \text{ A. C.}$$

Naoroz Shāpūr, 1773 A. C.

$$1723 - 33 \times 14 = 1261 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1723 - 30 \times 14 = 1303 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1723 - 28 \times 14 = 1331 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1723 - 25 \times 14 = 1373 \text{ A. C.}$$

Approximate dates of Neryosang's birth according as 33, 30, 28 and 25 years are reckoned equivalent to a Generation.

Sanjānā Kolophons.

Hormazdār Qawāmuddin, 1585 A. C.

$$1555-33 \times 14 = 1093 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1555-30 \times 14 = 1135 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1555-28 \times 14 = 1163 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1555-25 \times 14 = 1205 \text{ A. C.}$$

Aspandiār Padam, 1587 A. C.

$$1547-33 \times 13 = 1118 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1547-30 \times 13 = 1157 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1547-28 \times 13 = 1183 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1547-25 \times 13 = 1232 \text{ A. C.}$$

Rustam Hoshang, 1647 A. C.

$$1628-33 \times 15 = 1133 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1628-30 \times 15 = 1178 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1628-28 \times 15 = 1208 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1628-25 \times 15 = 1253 \text{ A. C.}$$

Rustam Bahrām, 1785 A. C.

$$1719-33 \times 17 = 1158 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1719-30 \times 17 = 1209 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1719-28 \times 17 = 1243 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1719-25 \times 17 = 1294 \text{ A. C.}$$

Edalji Kāusji, 1831 A. C.

$$1801-33 \times 22 = 1075 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1801-30 \times 22 = 1141 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1801-28 \times 22 = 1185 \text{ A. C.}$$

$$1801-25 \times 22 = 1251 \text{ A. C.}$$

Having examined the Kolophons of various dates, let us now scrutinize the family genealogies which are apparently based, for the most part, on old *Nāmagrahas* and *Disāpothis* or registers of the death-anniversaries of deceased relatives. I have appended to this Essay three Genealogical trees, viz. those (1) of the descendants of Kāmdin Zartosht (2) of Hom Bahmanyār and (3) of Hormazyār Bahmanyār. The two first have been extracted and condensed from the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali* of Dastur Rustamji Jāmāspji, the third from an invaluable Manuscript transcribed by his father, which contains a copy of the *Sanjānā Fihrist*. My most grateful acknowledgments are due to Ervad Māhiār N. Kutār who has lent it to me.

A glance at these family-trees is sufficient to show that they are generally correct, but *only upto a certain point, i.e. upto about the first quarter of the 15th Century*. Beyond that point, we cannot be at all sure of their correctness. We have few or no data for testing or verifying them, and those which exist appear to indicate that several names have been forgotten and that some links in the chain of descent are missing. Setting aside the *Vanshāvali* of the Broach Dasturs which has been already dissected and condemned, let me take a few instances from the Navsāri group.

The name of Bahrām Faredūn is found in a document indited¹ in V. S. 1667, A.C., 1611 (Studies, p. 251) and his death is recorded in V. S. 1678, A.C., 1622, in an old *Disāpothi* printed in the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali* (p. 240). Now between Bahrām and his ancestor Rānā Kāmdin who is known to have written a Manuscript in 1415 A.C., there are eight generations. If Bahrām was fifty years old in 1622 A.C., he must have been born in A.C., 1572. If then Rānā Kāmdin was 40 or 50 years old in 1415 A.C., his birth must be placed about 1375 or 1365.

Now $1572 - 1375 = 197$ and $1572 - 1365 = 207$, which numbers divided by eight, yield $24\frac{6}{8}$ and $25\frac{875}{8}$, for the duration of a generation, which is a fair, though somewhat low, average.¹ Similarly, there are five generations between Rānā Kāmdin and Bahman Chāndā, who was a contemporary of Āsīn Kākā, and whose name is found in the *Revāyet* of Kāus Kāmdin, *Circa* 1570 A.C. (Studies, p. 313), and documents dated 1580 and 1590. A. C., (*Parsi Prakāsh*, pp. 8 and 9 note).

¹ The explanation probably is that Bahrām was for eight generations, the eldest son of the eldest son of his progenitor. See Table.

Now, if Bahman Chāndā was sixty years old in 1590 A.C., he must have been born about 1530 A.C. If Rānā Kāmdin was 39 or 40 years of age in 1415 A.C. he must have been born in 1385 or 1375 A.C. If the difference, 145 or 155 (1530-1375) is divided by 5, the result 29 or 31, is in fair accord with the length assigned to a generation in Dr. Murray's Dictionary and elsewhere. Similar results will be reached by any one who takes the years in which the names of Wāchchā Pāhlan, Ānnān and Āsā Dhayyān occur in the Revāyets and other documents and reckons the number of years and generations intervening between those persons and Rānā Kāmdin.

I ought perhaps to notice that according to the Genealogies given in the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali*, the number of generations between Rānā Jaisang as well as Āsadin Kākā and Homazdyār is not nine, as in their Kolophons, but ten. This is, however, due to the insertion of the name of 'Mobed' between those of Zartosht and Homazdyār in the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali*. But even with this interpolation, the number seems to be too small, in view of the fact that Peshotan Rām Kāmdīn, writing more than one hundred years earlier, reckons eight.

You will observe that the Kolophons which we have examined belong to or emanate from three different sources. They are affixed to Manuscripts written by the Athornāns of Broach, the Bhagariās of Navsāri and the Sanjānā custodians of the *Irānshāh*. The genealogies also fall into three groups, viz., the descendants of Bahrām Hormazdyār Rāmyār from Broach, of Kāmdin Zartosht and Hom Bahmanyār from Navsāri, and of Hormazyār Bahmanyār from Sanjān.

A careful inspection of these Postscripts and Pedigrees shows that they are not without discrepancies and errors. There are (1) discrepancies or differences between Kolophon and Kolophon of the same group (2) between Kolophons belonging to different groups and (3) between the Kolophons on the one hand and the Genealogies on the other.

As the minor variations of the first two classes have been already pointed out, I will invite attention here only to the most arresting discordances of the third.

According to the Genealogies, or at least their *modern recensions*, Hormazdyār Rāmyār had a son named Mobed, and Bahrām the ancestor of the Bharūchās,¹ and Kāmdin the progenitor of the

¹ In the 'Genealogy of the Broach Dastur family' published by Mr. Ardeshtir, the name of Mobed is found only in the Second Edition, but this is obviously borrowed from the Bhagariā lists. It does not occur in the First Edition at all.

Bhagariās were not the sons, but the grandsons of Hormazdyār. On the other hand, all the Kolophons without a single exception agree in not giving to Hormazdyār a son having any such name. There is among the three oldest Kolophons, those of Peshotan Rām, Rānā Jaisang and Ardeshir Mobed an absolute unanimity in regard to this matter, and the actual wording of these ancient Postscripts leaves no doubt in our minds as to all these old scribes themselves having understood *Mobed* as the *title* of Hormazdyār and not as the *personal name* of his son.

I will first give the original Postscript of Peshotan Rām from the reading of Hoshangji and Haug. "Frajast farjāminid, denman Ardā Virāf *va* denman Mādikān-i-Gosht-i-Fryāno, yin yom-i Fravardino, bidanā Vohuman, Shanat-i-DCCLXVI. Yazdakard Malkān Malkā Auhar-mazda-kāno ; li, dino bondāk, Aerpat zādak, Austād, Peshyotanu Rām Kāmdino Shatro-yar *va* Neryosang Gayomard [or Shahmard] *va* Shatro-aiyyār *va* Bāhrām *va* magopat Hormazdyār *va* Aerpat Rāmyār." *Op. Cit.* 245-246. And Rānā Jaisang writes thus in Persian.

تمام شد این کتاب جاماسپی من دین بنده از کمترین
خاک روبان رانان بن هربد جیسنگ بن هربد دادا بن هربد
جیسنگ بن هربد موبد بن هربد قیام دین بن هربد موبد بن
هربد کامدین بن هربد زرتشت بن موبد هرمز دیار بن هربد رامیار

Mody, Parsees at the Court of Akbar, p. 169.

The oldest Kolophon of Ardeshir Mobed Jivā which is equally clear on the point has been already transcribed on another page. It is obvious that this discrepancy introduces an element of uncertainty into all the calculations. This is more notable still in the case of the Sanjānās. There are in the *Sanjānā Fihrist*—at least in its modern recensions—three names which are conspicuous by their absence in the Kolophons written by the descendants of not only their direct ancestor Hormazdyār, but of those of his brother, Hom Bahmanyār. According to the Kolophons belonging to *both* these groups, Khujasta was the grand-father of Hom and Hormazdyār Bahmanyār. According to the *recent revisions* of the *Fihrist*—he was their great-great-grandfather. But this is not all. As the modern compilers of Navsāri genealogies (not *Kolophons*) had interpolated the name of Mobed between Zartosht and Hormazdyār, the Sanjānās have followed their example and bestowed a son of the same

name on their ancestor Neryosang. This double coincidence is, to say the least, strange and suspicious, and the probabilities are all adverse to it.

Lastly, I must add a few words about Shāpūr Shahriār. There is not (with one exception, which is absolutely devoid of significance, on account of its modernity), a single old Kolophon—in the hundreds of manuscripts known to me, in which Shāpūr Shahriār is made the grand-father of Hormazdyār as well as of Neryosang. The idea of making Neryosang and Hormazdyār first cousins, appears to have occurred to some syncretist or synchronizer only in very recent times. There is not a tittle of evidence in favour of it, and it seems to be founded on an absolutely gratuitous conjecture. The names of Hormazdyār, Neryosang and Shāpūr Shahriār are rare mentioned—all in a line—in some old copies of the *Dhūp-Nirang* or *Nirang-i-Būi-dādan*¹. There is not a word said in the *Nirang* itself, as to their having been in any way related or connected by blood, but their juxtaposition seems to have inspired some inquisitive soul having a passionate longing for chronological harmony and completeness with the idea of making Shāpūr the connecting link between Hormazdyār and Neryosang, the grand progenitor of all the Indian Athornāns—the patriarchal hierophant who had accompanied the first Zoroastrian refugees in their flight. I may also point out for what it is worth, that Mullā Kāus Rustam Jalāl had never heard of Shāpūr Shahriār, and that his name does not occur anywhere in the old *Nāmagrahans*—nearly a score in number—of Bhagariās, Sanjānās and Sūratiās—which are printed at the end of the *Bhagarsākh Vanshāvali* (pp. 218-240).

If you ask me 'what are the net results of these inquiries,' I must candidly reply that there are no certain or definite results at all, and that if there are any, they are more negative than positive. And the first of such results is that there is absolutely no written authority or warrant for the popular belief as to Shāpūr Shahriār having been the grand-father of either Hormazdyār or Neryosang.

Secondly, there are no grounds for postulating any blood relationship between Hormazdyār, the ancestor of the Athornāns of Navsāri and Broach and Neryosang, the forebear of the priests of Sanjān.

¹ Dārāb Hormazdyār's Revāyet in Mullā Firūz Library, Folio 242, Dhābar's Catalogue p. 67.

It also occurs in Ervad Manekji Unwālā's autograph MS. of this Revāyet which was written in 1061 A.Y.

Thirdly, the existence of a son of Hormazdyār named Mobed is highly problematical and it is exceedingly improbable that Neryosang also was the father of a person bearing the same appellation.

Fourthly, the insertion of the name of Mobed and the interpolation of those of Khūrshed and Bahmanyār are probably due to a desire to antedate the birth of Neryosang by about a century and indicate that the existing recensions of the *Sanjānā Fihrist* stand in need of critical examination.

Fifthly, the traditional dates for the settlement of Kāmdin Zartosht or *Mobed* Kāmdin Zartosht and Hom Bahmanyār are unreliable. If the Kolophons and Genealogies are trustworthy, the dates are erroneous. If the dates are correct, several names must have been omitted by the writers of the Postscripts and compilers of Pedigrees, and the latter must be pronounced unworthy of credence. But even if it is granted that *some* names have been left out, it would not prove that either of those dates is historically accurate. So long as we cannot determine the actual number of names or generations which are missing, the dates must remain doubtful.

Sixthly it must be remembered that Kolophons, Genealogies entries in *Fihrists*, Nāmagrahans, Disāpothis all reflect only the *knowledge, belief or opinion of their own times*. They all rest on evidence which had been transmitted only by memory for several generations and was recorded in writing at a comparatively late period. "Tradition is," as Dr. Brusendorff has said in a recent work on Chaucer, "the handing down of information in such a way that it is laid open to the influence of the successive generations through which it passes." A comparison of the oldest Broach Kolophon with the oldest Postscript from Navsāri appears to indicate that in the last decade of the 14th Century, the tradition of the Bharuchās was less imperfect than that of the Bhagariās in the first quinquennium of the 16th Century. Peshotan Rām could recall in 1397 A.C. the names of nine of his own ancestors upto Rāmyār, Rana Jaisang could in 1504 A.C., call to mind only ten upto the same worthy. And Āsdīn Kākā who was about forty years the junior of Rīnī could not recount any more. In fact, the Navsāri tradition appears to have been fixed and consolidated by Āsdīn in the middle of the 16th Century and this consolidation is reflected in all the later documents. The Sanjānā tradition seems to have been in a more or less inchoate or unsettled condition so late as 1585-6 A.C. and to have been fixed or crystallised at some time

in the latter half of the Seventeenth Century. The solution of continuity between Khushmasta and Neryosang was then got rid of and the number of intervening generations once for all determined. And the most that can be said of the Broach tradition itself is that the Kolophon of Peshotan Rām represents the knowledge or the gist of what was still remembered in the 14th Century.

Lastly, it is impossible to predicate anything certain in connection with the dates of Hormazdyār and Neryosang. The discrepancies between the extremes of the results arrived at are so glaring that it would be hazardous and unprofitable to formulate any precise or positive statement in regard to the matter. But after all allowances are made, it would seem that Hormazdyār could not have been born much later than the second half of the 12th Christian Century, and that Neryosang lived about forty or fifty years before him.

If may be said that the results of all this toil and trouble, the laborious comparison and investigation of Kolophons and *Nāmagrahans*, pedigrees and *Fihristis* are very disappointing. This is certainly true but in the circumstances, nothing but disappointment can be looked for. The three oldest Kolophons known to us were transcribed only in the 14th and 16th Centuries i. e. several hundred years after the first arrival of the refugees in India and consequently, of Neryosang, who is *popularly* supposed to have accompanied them. They probably record only those names which were remembered or rather those *which had not been forgotten*, in the long lapse of time. There are good reasons for believing that the pedigrees and family-trees we have were *first* compiled only in the sixteenth century and they seem to have been regularly posted up only after that period. There can also be little doubt that the compilers of the pedigrees were influenced by the older Kolophons and that the later Kolophons were not infrequently indebted for their errors to the imperfections of the family *Nāmagrahans*. In a word, there is not a jot or tittle of *direct or primary evidence* in regard to the date of Neryosang and Hormazdyar and our sole dependence is on the uncertain and flickering light derivable from the enumeration of generations. Unfortunately, all calculations founded on such data are liable to error and only approximately correct. The actual length of a generation varies not only from 25 to 33, but even more widely. It varies not only between family and family, but between different branches of the same family. It varies " according

as the generations are counted by eldest, middle or youngest sons." (Hailes, *supra*). The younger the son from whom a particular individual is descended, the higher the average duration in that branch and *vice versa*. If a person happens to be the eldest descendant of the eldest line for several generations, the average may fall as low as 25 or even lower. If the case is reversed, the mean length may be as high as 30, 33, 35 or even higher. In the circumstances, it is obvious that the results cannot but be uncertain and it must be impossible to predicate anything without leaving a large margin for error.¹

¹ I cannot conclude this paper without publicly making my sincere acknowledgments to Sir Jamshedji Jijibhāi and Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Mody for lending me the Manuscript Reports of Ervad N. B. Desāi and J. C. Kātrak on the Kolophons of Avestā-Pahlavi MSS. in Parsi Libraries, and the similar Report of Dr. J. M. Unwālā on the MSS. existing in European Collections.

H. Rāmyār.	H. Rāmyār.	Rāmyār.	H. Rāmyār.	Rāmyār.	Rāmyār.
Mobad Hormazdyār.	M. Hormazdyār.	Hormazdyār.	H. Hormazdyār.	Hormazdyār.	Hormazdyār.
H. Zartosht.	Zartosht.	Zartosht.	H. Zartosht.	Magūpat.	Zartosht.
H. Kāmdin.	Kāmdin.	Mobed.	Qawāmuddin.	Zartosht.	Kāmdin.
			Mobad.	Kāmdin.	Ānnān.
H. Mobad.	Mobad.	Kāmdin.	Qawāmuddin.	Magūpat.	Chāndnā.
H. Kiyāmuddin.	Lakhmidhar.	Rānā; MS. 1415.	H. Rānā; MS. 1415.	Lakhmidhar.	Ānnān R. 1478.
H. Mobad.	Bahrām MS. 1450.	Chāndnā.	Chāndnā	Bāmā; MS. 1450.	Pāhlan R. 1516.
H. Jaisang.	Lakhmidhar.	* Ānnān; R. 1478.	H. Ānnān; R. 1478.	Lakhmidhar.	Narsang.
H. Dādū.	Dhanpāl.	Pāhlan; R. 1516.	H. Pāhlan; R. 1516.	Dhanpāl.	Padam R. 1533 ?
H. Jaisang.	Kākā.	Bahrām; R. 1527, 1535	U. Narsang.	* Kākā; D. 1544.	Rānji (Pālak)
H. Rānā.	Āsadin.	Khūrshed.	H. Padam; R. 1553 (?)	Aspar	Vikji (Pālak)
		Hormazdyār.	H. Rānā.	...oj.	Dārāb.
		Kāmdin.	H. Peshotan.	Peshotan.	
		Jamshed.	Māhyār.	Shang. D.	
Kolophon, Navsāri	Kolophon, N.M.R.L.	Kaīqubād.	U. Narsang.	Zivā.	Kolophon, Khordeh-
Mehrji Rānā Library,	Bundelesh MS.	Jamshed.	U. Bahrām.	Shahpuhar.	Avesta MS. 1051 A.Y.
Jāmāspi MS. 873	936 A. Y.		U. Padam.	Naoroz.	(Kātrak, Dec. 1920.)
A. Y. 1560 V.S.			U. Jamshed.		
		Kolophon of Khordeh-	H. Naushirvān.		
		Avestā MS. of V.S.			
		1724 (Kātrak,			
		Oct. 1920.)			
			Kolophon, MS. 1073	Kolophon.	
			A.Y. 1760 V.S.	Avesta-Pahlavi	
)Kātrak, March 1921.)	Vendidād, A. Y.	
				1142, Dārāb. introd.	
				p.xliv.	

Sanjānās Kolophons.

Khushmasta.	Khushmasta.
Khujasta.	Khujasta.
Bahmanyār.	Bahmanyār.
Hamjiār.	Hom.
Kāmān.	Faredūn.
Rām.	Āsā.
Nāgan.	Jaisā.
Narsang.	Khurshed.
Kāmān.	Āsdin.
Padam.	Bahrām.
*Hamjiār; D. 1558.	Rustam.
Kukā; R. 1601.	Padam.
Qawāmuddin.	Aspandiār.
Hormazyār.	

Kolophon, Persian
Revāyet MS. A.Y. 954.
Desāi's Report on
Kolophons.

Kolophon of Persian
Jāmāspi, 956 A.Y.
Desāi's Report (Kutār
MSS. p. 86.)

Khūrshed Sanjānā.

Āsdin.

*Chāyyān; R. 1516.

Kayāmuddin.

Āsū; R. 1553 ?

Hoshang R. 1601.

Shāpūr.

Kolophon, Khordeh-
Avestā MS. Navsāri
Mīhrji Rānā Library.
970 A.Y. No. F 4 ;

Dhaval.
Neryosang.

As — Nasl — i

Padam Sanjānā.

Hamjiār D 1558.

Kaikubād R. 1601.

Qawāmuddin

Frāmarz.

Hormazyār.

Dārāb.

Kolophon. Mino-
khirad, 1048 A-Y.
West, Pahl.
Texts, III. p. xxiv.

Dhaval

Neryosang

Khushmasta

Khujasta.

Bahmanyār.

Hom.

Faredūn.

Āshā.

Wāchchā.

Rustam.

Nāgoj; R. 1516; D. 1534

Kāmdin.

Chāndā.

Nāgoj.

Peshotan.

Hoshang.

H. Rustam.

Kolophon of Jāmāspi
MS. N.M.R.L.
1704 V.S. No. U 11 ;

D. Khushmasta.

D. Khujasta.

D. Bahmanyār.

D. Hormazyār.

D. Dhanpāl.

D. Nāgoj.

D. Kāmdin.

D. Khūrshed.

D. Āsdin.

D. Chāyyān.

D. Kāmdin.

D. Āsā.

D. Hoshang.

D. Khūrshed (Pālak)

D. Bhāiji

D. Jāmāsp.

D. Kershāsp.

Kolophon of Vendidad
MS. dated 1096 A.Y.
Desāi's Report. Dastur
Jāmāspji's MSS. p. 21.

Dhaval.

Neryosang.

Khushmasta.

Khujasta.

Bahmanyār.

Hom.

Faredūn.

Māhiār.

Āsdin.

Chāndā.

Shāher.

Jivā.

Peshotan; D. 1577,
1599.
Mānek.

Sohrāb.

Dārāb.

Bahrām.

Rustam.

Kolophons of two
MSS. of 1154 A.Y.
(Kātrak's Report, Nov.
1920.)

Shāpūr Shahriār.

E. Dhaval.

E. Neryosang.

E. Mobed.

E. Khushmasta.

E. Khujasta.

E. Bahmanyār.

E. Hom.

E. Faredūn.

E. Āsā.

E. Wāchchā.

E. Chāchā.

E. Rānā.

E. Rustam.

E. Rānji.

E. Navdar.

E. Bahrāmji.

E. Dārābji.

E. Dādābhāi.

E. Minocheherji.

E. Bahrāmji.

E. Aspandiārji.

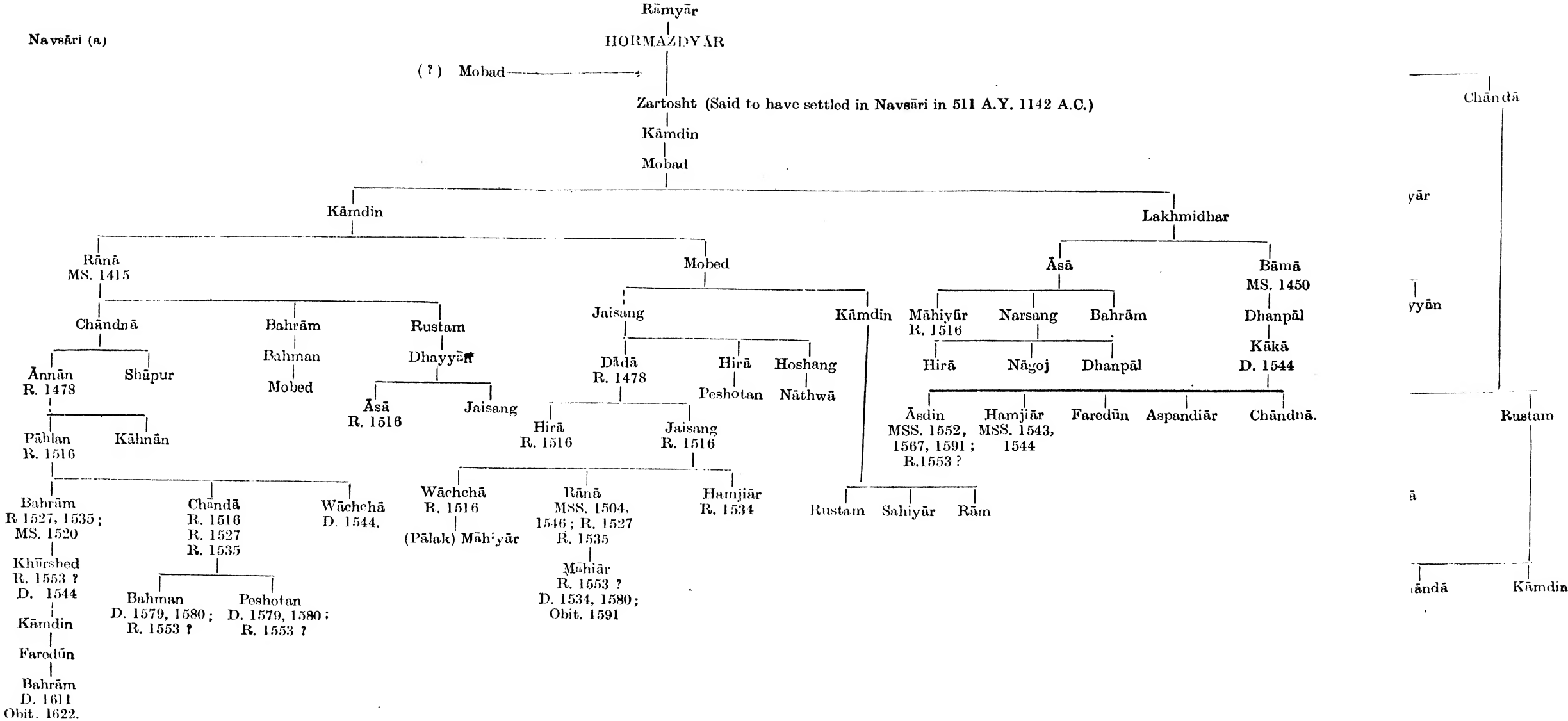
E. Naushirvānji.

E. Bachāji.

E. Kāusji.

E. Edalji.

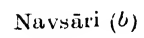
Kolophon of Khordeh
Avestā MS. 1887 V.S.
1200 A.Y. Desāi's
Report, D. Jāmāspji's
MSS. p. 37.



Navsāri (b)

Navsāri (b)

Navsāri (b)



SHĀPUR SHAHRIĀR

